GROWING UP AMERICA

YOUTH AND POLITICS SINCE 1945

EDITED BY SUSAN ECKELMANN BERGHEL, SARA FIELDSTON, AND PAUL M. RENFRO

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To Henry and Theodore; Annika;
Nikita and Vera; Audrey and Matthew;
Eloise and Janie; Stephen and Thomas;
Lucinda Tiger and Jordan;
and all who are, were,
or will be young

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INTRODUCTION

SUSAN ECKELMANN BERGHEL,
SARA FIELDSTON, AND PAUL M. RENFRO

Childhood is political. Even though Americans under age eighteen cannot vote and remain under the legal "protection" of adult guardians, they wield tremendous political power, both as actors and as symbols.[1] Social movements—from the 1963 Children's Crusade in Birmingham, Alabama, to the AIDS work of Indiana teenager Ryan White—have often relied on the young.[2] Schools have also long served as political battlegrounds—sites on which students, parents, teachers, and others negotiate the proper role of religion, race, gender, and culture in primary and secondary education. Across American history, children have staged protests, boycotts, and walkouts; written appeals to elected officials and others in power; and engaged in civic, community, and grassroots organizing. They have also performed such labor in other, less explicitly or formally political ways: by taking part in consumer capitalism, forging relationships with peers across the globe, or questioning the received wisdom of their parents' faith traditions.

Of course, young Americans do not always function as actors in the political realm. Indeed, childhood and youth are generally understood as "apolitical," insofar as young people cannot vote or hold elected office, and voters ostensibly privilege "maturity" and "level-headedness" (two descriptors often associated with adulthood) in their elected representatives. (For his part, Ohio governor and 2016 Republican presidential hopeful John Kasich sought to position himself as "the adult in the room" amid the "childish" antics of then candidate Donald Trump.)[3] Yet policy makers and activists of all stripes have regularly invoked figurations of children to promote their preferred policies. For one, Anita Bryant and other late twentieth-century conservatives sought to "Save Our Children" from sexual liberation and the women's and LGBTQ+ movements. On the other end of the political spectrum, liberal and leftist environmentalists have framed the preservation of the natural world as an existential imperative for future generations.[4]

Historians and other scholars have begun to take notice. Recent years have seen a burst of interest in children's studies and in the history of childhood and youth as scholars have more fully documented the experiences of youngsters and located young people at the intersection of analytical categories such as race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability. For historians of modern America, this new focus on young people is particularly apt. More children were born in the United States during the mid-twentieth century than at any previous point in the nation's history. Not surprisingly, the impact of rising birth rates reverberated well beyond the nursery and the college campus. From the landmark 1954 court case *Brown v. Board of Education* to Lyndon Baines Johnson's infamous "Daisy" campaign ad in 1964, from free speech and antiwar demonstrations on high school and college campuses in the 1960s and 1970s to moral panics over Satanism and "stranger danger" in the 1980s, young people and their *representations* proved central to many of the major political developments of the twentieth century's latter half.

Despite the increased attention to the history of childhood generally, relatively few works have explored the nexus of youth and politics. This book brings together new scholarship that considers the role of children and teenagers in shaping American political life during the decades following the Second World War. To that end, the volume takes a capacious view of youth, one that reflects the definitions used by the subjects featured in the anthology. *Growing Up America* also recognizes the ways in which youth has been employed historically to justify inequality. Indeed, because childhood has been rendered "apolitical"—or *beyond* politics—the political world is understood to be an adult world, even though youthful voices and images regularly advance or challenge various political agendas, and policy decisions bear heavily on young Americans.

Contra this tendency to "depoliticize" youth, this book places young people at the center of key political trends, illuminating the dynamic and complex roles played by youth in the midcentury rights revolutions, in constructing and challenging cultural norms, and in navigating the vicissitudes of American foreign policy and diplomatic relations. Expanding upon important scholarly work that places childhood in conversation with race, consumerism, gender, and foreign affairs, the authors featured here reveal how young people have served as both political actors and subjects. At the same time, *Growing Up America* contends that the politics of childhood and youth extends far beyond organized activism and the ballot box. By unveiling how science fairs, breakfast nooks, Boy Scout meetings, home economics classrooms, and correspondence functioned as political spaces, this anthology encourages a reassessment of the scope and nature of modern politics itself. To repurpose Linda Gordon's admonition to scholars of women and gender in the 1990s, we affirm that historians of childhood and youth cannot "simply add [children] to the pictures we already have of the past"; instead, we must "repaint . . . the earlier pictures" altogether.[5]

Reframing the story from the perspectives of young people sheds new light on the political trajectory of the latter half of the twentieth century. Certainly,

familiar trends emerge: the long shadow cast by the Cold War, the youthful activism of the late 1960s, the rightward shift during the century's closing decades. But looking at children and teenagers also reveals surprising continuities between liberal and conservative eras and movements. Indeed, progressives and traditionalists alike depended on youthful bodies and actions to further their own political aims while simultaneously, by virtue of youngsters' childlike innocence, casting such representations and efforts as *apolitical*. Moreover, many of the methods by which American actors on both sides of the political aisle—adults and youngsters alike—sought to enact political change remained markedly consistent over the latter half of the twentieth century. From the international friendship programs of the early Cold War to the American Indian rights movement, individuals seeking to change America and the world attempted to do so by changing people. The ideology of "personal responsibility"—a watchword of the neoliberal order—was not a recent invention, this volume suggests, but has roots that are much deeper and more complex. And it is an ideology, these chapters demonstrate, that defies easy political classification.[6]

In the popular imagination, youth are often perceived to be "naturally" progressive. Children march vocally in favor of liberal causes, the assumption goes, but serve as mute symbols for conservative ones. This assumption, *Growing Up America* demonstrates, is a faulty one. For instance, Mischa Honeck's chapter illustrates how the Boy Scouts of America harnessed youthful energy to reify hierarchies of race, gender, and nation. Likewise, Paul McKenzie-Jones's chapter on American Indian educational policies complicates conceptions of left-wing social movements as inherently youthful and "pure." Susan Eckelmann Berghel details young people's varied responses to the Vietnam War and to anticommunist discourses. Her chapter shows how some children and teenagers supported U.S. military involvement in Asia, embracing American Cold War ideology as an effective strategy to win the "hearts and minds" of people in the so-called Global South. By incorporating archival materials spotlighting conservative or reactionary youth who penned letters to President Johnson, Eckelmann Berghel further counters the notion that 1960s youth activism fixated exclusively on progressive or radical agendas. Collectively, the works featured in this anthology deepen our understanding of political life in modern America while treating young people as historical actors in their own right.

Growing Up

Childhood—as an idea, an identity, and an embodied experience—is shot through with tensions and contradictions. It is a liminal category, one of transition and becoming. "Bluntly speaking," Sarah Chinn and Anna Mae Duane observe, "'child' means 'a person who is not yet an adult.'" Accordingly, adults—all of whom have lived as children—help set and enforce the "fairly porous" boundary between childhood and adulthood.[7] American adults police this boundary not only through the tools afforded by an expansive judicial system but also

through the fields of culture and performance. Childhood is scripted, as adults determine and sanction "age-appropriate" behaviors while forbidding (sometimes in a formal, legal sense) many others. As historians Corinne Field and Nicholas Syrett have illustrated, "The meaning that we assign to precise ages—six, sixteen, twenty-one, thirty-five, sixty—are cultural constructions," and adults "have chosen specific ages to stand in for the beginning and endings of life stages and the societal expectations that accompany them."[8] In other words, adults preside over childhood and dictate the terms upon which children *become* adults.

Conceptions of childhood's nature and duration, then, are historically contingent and shaped by the parents and adults who, in many ways, govern the lived experiences of (and overarching narratives concerning) children and youth. Historian Paula Fass argues that childhood as a stage of life has expanded dramatically over the past century, especially in the past thirty to forty years. Since the 1980s, Fass claims, middle-class parents have increasingly exhibited an "obsession with control" over "the managed child." As Fass explains, their concerns are often ahistorical, with parenting guides and other resources suggesting that "contemporary parents [are] the first ever to be overwhelmed or feel inadequately prepared for the tasks they face and the sacrifices they are required to make."[9]

Indeed, lamentations over generational divides and the challenge of raising "kids these days"—as well as celebrations of "great" generations—have appeared across different eras of American history, and the postwar period was no different. With the close of the Second World War came a baby boom underwritten by generous federal housing and education policies. Such pronatal (and racially exclusionary) policies joined with mass media and consumer products to espouse the virtues of suburban domesticity, gender conservatism, and conspicuous consumption. As Margaret Peacock has shown, early Cold War debates hinged in large measure upon questions of political economy and whether capitalism or communism could best provide material comfort for children. Americans and Soviets alike prosecuted their Cold War cases by illustrating how young people fared under their respective economic regimes. U.S. officials, for their part, pointed to the postwar abundance of toys, games, and other amusements as proof of capitalism's efficacy, namely its ability to supply children with the best lives possible.[10] Such lives of comfort and plenty—at least for some young Americans—diverged sharply from the privation and rationing of the Great Depression and war eras.[11] So too did the predominant middle-class logics of child-rearing. In keeping with the postwar emphasis on children's comfort and security, famed pediatrician Benjamin Spock and other experts encouraged parents to address the emotional well-being of their offspring. In so doing, Spock rejected the rigid, punitive parenting philosophies that had prevailed before the war. But the "child-centered" approach to parenting most frequently associated with Spock had its share of critics. When boomers began to inspect and critique the postwar order, often amid the campus ferment of the 1960s and

1970s, their detractors blamed their supposed insubordination and ungratefulness on Spock's "permissive" child-rearing strategies.[12]

Young people petitioning for civil and human rights, bucking proscriptions on drug use and sexual exploration, and protesting the quagmire in Vietnam stoked the ire of conservatives and Democratic technocrats, who saw these developments as threats to liberal democracy (broadly conceived) and the "free enterprise" system. Sensationalized narratives of young white suburban "victims" targeted and corrupted by nefarious nonwhite "drug pushers" split America's emergent "war on drugs" along two tracks beginning in the 1950s: on one track, public health campaigns and selective marijuana decriminalization policies for young whites; and on the other, "militarized interdiction in urban minority areas."[13] By the mid-1960s, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, California governor Pat Brown, and other observers had successfully alerted the public to a presumed crisis among American youth, one marked by drug use, street crime, listlessness, and licentiousness. Moynihan especially lamented the supposed behavioral and cultural deficiencies evident in African American families and their children: a penchant for juvenile delinquency, an overreliance on social assistance, and an emasculating matriarchal family structure. His contention that black youth grew up within a "culture of poverty" fused with other grim portraits of American youth to muddle the boundaries between "lawful" human rights demonstrations and "unlawful" criminal behavior. As historian Julilly Kohler-Hausmann notes, the conflation of "concentrated urban poverty, rising crime rates, civil rights activism, and explosive urban uprisings" in political rhetoric further demonized nonwhite youth and "unruly" white college students and underwrote state investments in "law and order," most visibly in the rapid expansion of the carceral apparatus starting in the Johnson years.[14]

Exacerbating fears of recalcitrant youth unshackled by a permissive society and culture, young people and students secured new legal protections in the 1960s and 1970s. Supreme Court decisions in *Tinker v. Des Moines* (1969), *In re Gault* (1967), and *In re Winship* (1970), among others, expanded the First and Fourteenth Amendment rights of young Americans. After years of political agitation by youth activists, the Twenty-Sixth Amendment—passed and ratified in 1971—lowered the voting age to eighteen. Further, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, formed in 1974, looked to remove youths from adult correctional facilities and to honor the historical distinction between the juvenile and adult criminal justice systems. Amid broad-scale economic instability and transformation beginning in the late 1960s and intensifying in the 1970s (principally deindustrialization, stagflation, financialization, deunionization, and the increasing workforce participation of women and racial/ethnic minorities), anxieties about the white, heteronormative, patriarchal, two-parent family and its children animated efforts to reassert adult and parental authority over young people. Moral panics centering on the sexual and "moral threats" ostensibly facing American minors motored campaigns to censor objectionable artwork and media content, to bar gays and lesbians from working as school-

teachers, to prevent the abduction and exploitation of children by strangers, and to shore up institutional control of young people, especially in the legal realm.[15]

Juvenile incarceration rates rose precipitously across this period. Unsurprisingly, the burden of this increase fell disproportionately on the shoulders of black and brown youth. In 1979 the juvenile incarceration rate per 100,000 sat at 251; it had increased to 357 per 100,000 by 1987 before reaching 381 in 1995. Over that same stretch, the proportion of African Americans in juvenile detention facilities grew from 28 percent of the total population in 1979 to 34 percent in 1987 and 40 percent in 1995. Likewise, in 1979 Latinx juveniles comprised 9 percent of the total population in juvenile correctional facilities. By 1995 17 percent of incarcerated juveniles were Latinx. At the same time, children's relative poverty risks increased from the 1970s through the 1990s, as did those of women, particularly mothers.[16] Such developments hinged upon adults' shifting conceptions of children, youth, and the problems facing them.

This volume recognizes the fact that adults mediate childhood in several discrete yet interrelated ways. First, it acknowledges the power asymmetries between adult scholars of childhood and their youthful subjects. The former give voice to the latter and generally augment that voice with interpretive, theoretical frames with which the young historical subject was (and possibly remains) unfamiliar. In addition to these ethical and interpretive issues, scholars of childhood have long struggled to bridge the supposed gap between "symbolic" and "flesh-and-blood" children—in historian Anita Casavantes Bradford's formulation.[17] Robin Bernstein, for her part, views performance as the key to negotiating this space between "real" and "imagined" childhoods, while Karen Sánchez-Eppler insists that "archival work has proved a potent resource" in resolving the tensions between these two.[18] Further, *Growing Up America* recognizes that "imagined" or "symbolic" children are largely (if not exclusively) constructed by adults and marshaled in the service of myriad political goals. Yet Susan Miller also reminds us that "children willingly conform to adult agendas, not necessarily because youth acquiesce to power, but because their interests often align with those promoted by adults."[19] Drawing on adult discourses, youth often engage in political labor on their own terms.

Keeping in mind the ambiguities, contradictions, and tensions inherent in age, childhood, and adulthood, this volume narrates postwar American political history with children, adolescents, and their representations firmly at the center. The result is an account of a country and its people "growing up." This anthology employs the concept of "growing up" as both a literal and a figurative framing device. On one level, *Growing Up America* tells the story of the baby boomers' coming of age. Authors explore the politicization of the people born during the twenty years following World War II both as youngsters and, by the latter decades of the twentieth century, as adults and parents. *Growing Up America* also charts the legacy of the boomers' political engagement as the next generations negotiated and grappled with the aftermath of the midcentury rights revolutions that their parents had helped bring about.

On another level, it is difficult to avoid employing "growing up" as a metaphor for the development of the United States itself. In the popular imagination, a series of events in the 1960s and 1970s—the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal—together resulted in the nation's supposed "loss of innocence." A combination of tragedy and hubris, the popular narrative goes, forced America through the challenging but necessary transition to "adulthood." This story about the nation's "loss of innocence" is seductive. But it obscures important continuities between the twentieth century's latter decades, continuities on which this volume sheds light. Moreover, viewing the late twentieth century as America's tumultuous "coming of age" reinforces a Whiggish view of history, which implies that the problems that plagued America as an "immature" nation—racism, sexism, imperialism—have now been "outgrown" and consigned to the past.

While "growing up" is a problematic metaphor for national evolution, the idea that individuals—and, by extension, nations—can solve social problems through personal transformation holds a prominent place in both American policy making and culture. As Julie Passanante Elman demonstrates, a "culture of rehabilitation" that took hold in the last three decades of the twentieth century maintains that the country's defects are personal shortcomings, not structural flaws. "If we all have disabilities to overcome, as a culture of rehabilitation insists," Elman writes, "then we have nothing to change but *ourselves*. We can all accept personal responsibility for our circumstances rather than selfishly complain about ongoing structural inequality—or in other words, we can all just 'grow up.'"[20]

This is an idea with deep roots. The notion that societal reforms could be enacted through personal changes—through an individual process of "growing up"—predates the culture of rehabilitation, which, Elman holds, came to fruition in the late twentieth century. As culture replaced heredity as a means of understanding human differences during the interwar years, many Americans believed that molding individual personalities could serve as a means of reshaping the world. Children, widely understood to be more pliable than adults, were the chief target of these personality projects. The post–World War II baby boom, coupled with the desire to prevent another global conflict, led to new initiatives on the part of Americans across the political spectrum that sought to uplift society by improving its youngest members. Not merely objects but also actors, children themselves embarked on personal improvement projects as well—only some of which aligned with the interests of their elders.[21] Thus, the tendency to look to private, personal solutions to social problems rather than to seek structural changes preceded the political transformations of the late twentieth century. This line of thought was also not inherently conservative. Nor, for all its shortcomings, was such a tendency solely disempowering. Indeed, for children—and others with little access to formal avenues of power—remaking the self had the potential to be a profound political statement.

This volume emerges from and seeks to reconcile the tensions and contradictions inherent in the messy concept of "growing up." Charting the overlap

and discontinuities between personal and societal transformations, the authors featured here document both individual and national triumphs and struggles.

Childhood from the Cold War to the Age of Fracture

The twentieth century was dubbed, at different points in its trajectory, both the Century of the Child and the American Century.[22] Exploring the nexus between increased attention to childhood and youth and consolidating American hegemony, the first part of this volume, "Global Childhood and the Early Cold War," considers how young people both experienced and influenced the political culture of the postwar world.

Sara Fieldston examines international friendship programs designed to connect young Americans with their counterparts overseas during the years immediately following World War II. These programs, which proliferated in the aftermath of the conflict, sought to imbue youngsters with a new global consciousness that would prevent a return to prewar isolationism and promote international harmony. Drawing on letters penned by young participants and on the records of American voluntary groups, Fieldston argues that friendship programs reinforced the United States' status as a growing global superpower even as they helped foster a new internationalist ethos.

But globally minded youngsters alone were not capable of securing world peace. Indeed, within a few short years, the United States was embroiled in the escalating Cold War. Mischa Honeck narrows the focus to the Boy Scouts of America, examining programs that connected boys and young men with their peers across the globe during the 1950s and 1960s. Honeck argues that the Boy Scouts cloaked American imperialism in the mantle of democratic brotherhood, bolstering an interventionist ideology that painted U.S. Cold War policies as morally irreproachable. The involvement of children in international projects, both Fieldston and Honeck argue, recast American expansionism in the reciprocal—and personal—language of friendship. Yet the participation of young people also opened spaces for actions that ran counter to official foreign policy objectives.

While young people served as cultural diplomats abroad, they also contributed to the construction of the Cold War order at home. Sarah Scripps explores the American science fair movement, which was founded in 1950 by the not-for-profit news agency Science Service. In the years that followed, thousands of children across the United States and overseas peered through microscopes, designed experiments, and shared laboratory notebooks. Yet fairs were about more than sharpening youngsters' scientific acumen and having fun. Extracurricular science, Scripps demonstrates, served postwar national security interests. Not only did science fairs seek to mold the future scientists and engineers of the atomic age, they also sought to promote the personality characteristics—creativity, initiative, detached judgment—valued by the emergent

military-industrial complex. Personal and political development thus merged seamlessly in the figures of youth.

Molly Jessup probes deeper into the nexus of personality and politics. She explores the self-improvement projects that were a staple of public school home economics curricula during the 1950s. By encouraging young people to undertake "personality projects" that would make them happier and more likable, Jessup contends, public schools placed young people on the front lines of the Cold War struggle to balance autonomy and social cohesion. Educators looked to young women in particular to adopt the personal characteristics that would help engender social harmony. Utilizing classroom materials and firsthand reports from students, Jessup examines how youngsters both experienced and helped shape the postwar culture of conformity. She also reveals the limits of relying on "growing up" as a tactic for fomenting social change.

After World War II, dynamic and diverse youth protests subverted normative conceptions of childhood, which had rendered youth primarily as reactive consumers of cultural currents and passive recipients of political ideology. Renegotiating prevailing definitions of citizenship and expanding the boundaries of political belonging, the authors in the volume's second part, "Youth Activism and Midcentury Rights Movements," consider the perspectives of disabled, Native American, Asian American, Chicanx/Latinx, African American, and pro- and antiwar youth activists who sought to shape social policies, cultural norms, military decisions, and political rights. These youngsters helped inspire a new understanding of children's and teenagers' civic competence and political "deservingness." In so doing, these activists affirmed the cultural and political significance of young people in post-1945 American society.

Jennifer Helgren examines how the experiences and representations of disabled children in American youth organizations following World War II reconfigured understandings of "civic fitness" *before* the formal emergence of the disability rights movement. Using Scout troops' promotional literature and oral histories, she argues that even though youth organizations cast disabled youths as long-suffering, they also celebrated their abilities to overcome challenges and focused on what disabled children could *do*. If "handicapped" children could attain rank and perform Scouting activities, these youth organizations asserted, then able-bodied children could do so as well. Helgren's chapter shows that children with disabilities were increasingly seen as insiders who helped expand the boundaries of fitness for all children. Discourses regarding dis/ability allowed young people to challenge and redefine the parameters of U.S. citizenship.

Susan Eckelmann Berghel's chapter spotlights children's and teenagers' correspondence with President Lyndon B. Johnson. Letter writing served as a "diplomatic bridge" between the worlds of youth and adult political leaders during the Vietnam War. Independent from but in conversation with adult public officials, young citizens sought to shape the political realities at home and hoped to advance the nation as a global power. When interrogating interwoven issues of war, civil rights, and political leadership, Johnson's young correspon-

dents demonstrated their political fitness as citizens and global intermediaries, countering societal assumptions about younger generations' carelessness or age-based alliances among different youth groups. Many of these pre-college-age letter writers understood antiwar draft resistance as un-American. Identifying themselves as "advisors" and "diplomats," some American youth engaged with public policies and military decisions on their own terms and formulated a range of responses to the war—from encouraging Johnson to fight communism to stressing peaceable solutions.

Widely viewed as more malleable than their elders, children have long been on the front lines of assimilation projects. During the 1960s and 1970s, as chapters by Andrea Kwon and Paul McKenzie-Jones detail, young people were also at the forefront of efforts to cultivate racial pride and solidarity. Kwon's piece explores youth involvement in the Asian American movement. High school and college students of Asian descent, Kwon contends, helped forge a radical social movement that was influenced by yet distinct from other movements of the era. Dismissing mainstream narratives of Asians as assimilable or "model minorities," young activists such as Involve Together Asians and Asian Sisters, along with Asian American members of the interracial High School Coalition (HSC), developed a new panethnic consciousness and called for self-determination and solidarity with peoples of the Global South. McKenzie-Jones shows that Native American youth, too, sought to challenge timeworn stereotypes. College-age students reached out to their younger counterparts, designing Upward Bound programs, summer youth workshops, and experimental cultural immersion schools. These activists rejected decades of educational activities that centered on assimilation by empowering American Indian children to celebrate their cultural identities.

By examining Chicanx/Latinx, Native American, and African American youth activism after 1968, Cara Elliott bridges the gap between the midcentury rights revolutions and the late twentieth-century culture wars. Elliott's chapter explains how children and student advocates relied on public communication with the White House to frame a post-1960s phase of activism. These youth activists employed multiple protest strategies, including speeches, literary expression, and letter writing, to foster debates in their schools and communities. As an ideological collective tied together by common sentiments and strategies, these youths moved beyond civil and voting rights by asserting cultural pride in their communities and histories.

The volume's third part, "Childhood and Youth in the Age of Fracture," deals with the ambiguities of "growing up" in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century United States. Nodding to Daniel Rodgers's influential book *Age of Fracture*, this part spotlights the contestations over childhood and parenthood that structured the "culture wars" and contributed to the signal political developments of the neoliberal era. Key developments have included the growing cultural disavowal of explicit racial, gender, and other discrimination; the expansion of the carceral state; the increasing stigmatization of social assistance

programs and embrace of austerity politics; and the widening gap between rich and poor.[23] As the United States ostensibly "grew out" of its most egregious forms of discrimination, it also bought into an individualist ethos of bootstrapping and "personal responsibility" that sanctioned inequality along lines of "deservingness" and "undeservingness." Those placed into the latter category often bore the identity markers of historically marginalized groups. But as explicit racial, gender, and other prejudice became less socially acceptable and more politically toxic, discriminatory outcomes in schooling, health care, economic security, criminal justice, and other realms were frequently couched in sanitized "postfeminist" and "postracial" terms. By celebrating diversity optics in corporate boardrooms and political offices previously inaccessible to women, racial and ethnic minorities, and LGBTQ+ people—and by casting deep-seated inequalities as personal, familial, and community failures—the "undeserving" could simply be told to "grow up."

Focusing on efforts to recruit girls and young women into science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields—traditionally dominated by "geeky" boys and men—Amy Sue Bix shows how STEM's growing gender inclusivity in the late twentieth century obscured widening class inequalities. Bix's chapter sheds light on the "progressive neoliberalism" to which Nancy Fraser, Walter Benn Michaels, and other scholars have gestured. Progressive neoliberalism, Fraser writes, marries "mainstream currents of new social movements (feminism, antiracism, multiculturalism, and LGBTQ+ rights), on the one side, and high-end 'symbolic' and service-based business sectors (Wall Street, Silicon Valley, and Hollywood), on the other. . . . However unwittingly," Fraser continues, "the former lend their charisma to the latter. Ideals like diversity and empowerment, which could in principle serve different ends, now gloss policies that have devastated manufacturing and what were once middle-class lives."[24] Putting flesh on Fraser's theories, Bix writes, "Despite the best efforts of many activists to expand participation to minority girls, low-income communities, and marginalized populations, STEM opportunities retained the aura of privilege associated with the high-tech corporate world."

For his part, Kyle Riismandel explores the 1980s panic over "Satanism" in youth popular culture. He reveals how parents anxious about "occultist" influences in heavy metal music and role-playing games such as *Dungeons & Dragons* furthered the suburban-focused, "family values" politics of the Reagan Right. By addressing "moral threats"—such as the supposedly corruptive power of Ozzy Osbourne—social conservative activists privileged the cultural concerns most relevant to middle-class and elite Americans.[25] In so doing, they papered over the material circumstances and punitive policies that plunged more and more young people (and their families) into poverty and precarity at century's end. In the realms of both policy and rhetoric, Riismandel shows, "the Reagan administration empowered concerned parents who located the danger to their kids in popular culture while marginalizing solutions that could have helped a broader swath of youth in danger from depression, drug abuse, and suicide."

Jenny Diamond Cheng excavates the politics and long-term consequences of the 1984 Equal Access Act. Designed by Reagan conservatives to ensure the rights of Christian high school students to organize extracurricular groups, the Equal Access Act has actually proven "to be the most important weapon of LGBTQ+ students seeking protection" from antigay forces. Indeed, in ways that reveal the explanatory limitations of the liberal/conservative binary, Cheng illustrates how conservative evangelicals appropriated and deployed liberal legal arguments to pass the Equal Access Act, which in turn enabled LGBTQ+ activists to assert their right to organize on school campuses.

Finally, Paul Renfro traces the history of the milk carton program, which arose in response to a perceived epidemic of child kidnapping and exploitation in the 1980s. Beginning in 1984, American dairies began placing the pictures of missing children on their products, most notably, milk cartons. At the program's peak, over seven hundred dairies and milk processors took part. While this initiative floundered just a few years after it emerged, the image of endangered (white) childhood that it advanced lived on. "Almost as soon as it had begun," Renfro indicates, "the milk carton campaign had penetrated pop culture, providing a visually appealing and widely recognizable reference point for multiple audiences." Milk carton kids—and complementary figurations of imperiled children circulated via television and other receptive media—have "justified the creation of new punitive tools intended to monitor young Americans and discipline those who might harm them." These tools, Renfro argues, have helped to expand the carceral state, perhaps the paradigmatic site of neoliberal governance. After all, marginalized and "deviant" individuals—from welfare recipients to "at-risk" youth, from sexually active minors to those experiencing homelessness—have increasingly been subject to police surveillance, harassment, and detention since the 1960s. Only through the brute power of the prison state, the thinking goes, can these populations be "disciplined" to conform to the dictates of "adult" society.[26]

After fourteen of their young peers and three of their teachers and administrators were felled by gunfire in February 2018, students from Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School launched a formidable movement in the hopes of reforming American gun laws—and stopping another massacre. In the days following the shooting, students from the Parkland, Florida, high school took to the airwaves and social media, petitioning for tighter regulations on weapons like the AR-15, which was used to slaughter their schoolmates and adult mentors. For her part, Stoneman Douglas senior Emma González, just three days after the mass shooting, delivered an impassioned speech at a rally in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. González not only issued a stark challenge to the adult politicians who, she claimed, had failed her and her classmates but also leveraged her youth and that of her peers to underline the significance of their movement and to predict its eventual success. "We are going to be the kids you read about in textbooks," González proclaimed to the crowd gathered in Fort Lauderdale. "Not be-

cause we're going to be another statistic about mass shooting in America, but because . . . we are going to be the last mass shooting." The audience roared with approval.[27]

Tellingly, González then drew on the long history of youth activism in the United States. "Just like *Tinker v. Des Moines*," the 1969 Supreme Court decision that affirmed the First Amendment rights of minors, "we are going to change the law," she vowed. "That's going to be Marjory Stoneman Douglas in that textbook, and it's going to be due to the tireless effort of the school board, the faculty members, the family members, and most of all the students." Former president Barack Obama built on González's observation as he praised the Stoneman Douglas students on Twitter days later. "Young people have helped lead our great movements," Obama wrote. "How inspiring to see it again in so many smart, fearless students standing up for their right to be safe . . . marching and organizing to remake the world as it should be. We've been waiting for you. And we've got your backs." Rory McVeigh, director of the Center for the Study of Social Movements at the University of Notre Dame, identified "unbridled youth" as a key force animating the activism of Stoneman Douglas students and other young people. Journalist Alan Gomez described McVeigh's analysis: "Adults too often fall into the trap of accepting the status quo because they know all too well how difficult it is to get legislators to change course." McVeigh explained to Gomez: "You and I may be a little bit more cynical, because we've seen this play out, and we've seen the way that money can corrupt the political system."[28]

But as many observers lauded the Stoneman Douglas survivors for their "unbridled youth" and bold activism, others detected discrepancies between treatments of the Stoneman Douglas students and other, perhaps less privileged, young people. It is crucial to note that Stoneman Douglas is a well-funded high school; its students benefit from a wealthy tax base and, in the main, enjoy the perquisites of living in a comfortable community. Not all young Americans are so fortunate. Many live in underserved areas; attend crumbling, underfunded schools; and face hunger and poverty. Moreover, underprivileged youth do not receive equal treatment in the court of law or in the court of public opinion. Upon enforcing its "zero tolerance" immigration policy in the spring and summer of 2018, Donald Trump's Department of Justice demonstrated just how effortlessly the state justifies violence against nonwhite and "undocumented" children, ripping them from their families and locking them in cages. And as Lincoln Anthony Blades, a writer at *Teen Vogue,* and Charlene Carruther, national director of the Black Youth Project, point out, black youth activists have been fighting for gun reform for years, often without media, public, or political recognition, let alone praise.[29] Further, dialogues concerning gun reform generally fail to address the violence disproportionately visited upon youth of color such as Trayvon Martin, Mike Brown, and the countless victims of gun violence in Chicago, Baltimore, and St. Louis. Indeed, youthful innocence, victimhood, and even personhood have long remained elusive for young people of color. As Robin Bernstein puts it, "The concept of childhood innocence itself

has a deep and disturbing racial history," and Black Lives Matter cofounder Patrisse Cullors provocatively asks, "Why don't black people get to be victims?"[30]

Black teenagers' appeals to politicians and their unanswered demands for equal protection and human rights are also not new. In 1963 African American children implored President John F. Kennedy to affirm their humanity after four girls were killed by a Ku Klux Klan splinter group in the Sixteenth Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama. Lois Ann Clark, a sixteen-year-old black girl from New Jersey, wrote: "The time has come for us to protect our Negro citizens. We deplore the acts of the Nazis, bombing the synagogues of Jews in Germany, yet we do nothing about it here, in our own country, to our own citizens. We want action taken. . . . I wonder what life in this nation will offer my children for I, too, am a Negro."[31] In light of continued domestic terrorism (racially motivated or not), American streets, places of worship, and schools are still not safe spaces for many of the nation's youngest citizens. Black youth activists, while often criminalized and labeled as "extremists," can serve as critical allies and as an important mobilizing force in the youthful movement to end gun violence. The history of 1960s civil rights activism suggests that such cross-racial efforts may open the minds of cynical adults and push passive legislators to action.

Indeed, the activism emanating from Florida in early 2018 belongs within a long lineage of youth mobilizations in the United States—and, more broadly, of young people and their representations in the American political realm. This is the history that *Growing Up America* tells—not just of the young Red Power, Yellow Power, LGBTQ+, antiwar, and antiracist activists to which the Stoneman Douglas survivors have compared themselves but also of the missing and slain children whose names and faces have been marshaled to expand the carceral and surveillance states. The book speaks of the young Americans who sought to shore up Jim Crow, of the anxious high schoolers unwittingly recruited into projects of Cold War gender and class conformity, and of the girls who have long combatted gender discrimination in STEM fields, even as they unknowingly reinforced class inequalities. *Growing Up America*, then, is fraught with the very same ambiguities and tensions that shape the lives of all American children, adolescents, and even adults. Not a triumphalist or Whiggish history, it is the story of a country—much like its young citizens—in a constant state of flux and transition. Shifting our vantage point from the boardroom to the classroom and from the power players to the playhouse, *Growing Up America* presents a new political narrative of post–World War II America.

NOTES

1. Sarah Chinn and Anna Mae Duane, introduction to *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 1–2 (Spring–Summer 2015): 16.
2. For "AIDS work," see Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

3. See, for instance, Alana Wise, "Ugly. Childish. Bankrupt. When Debaters Attack," Reuters, September 17, 2015, blogs.reuters.com/talesfromthetrail/2015/09/16/ugly-childish-bankrupt-when-debaters-attack; Tessa Berenson, "Here Are Trump and Rubio's Best Schoolyard Insults," *Time*, March 1, 2016, time.com/4242827/donald-trump-marco-rubio-insults; "The Adult in the Room" ad, Kasich for America campaign website, May 3, 2016, johnkasich.com/videos/the-adult-in-the-room.
4. Queer scholars in particular have wrestled with the "Child" as an "emblem" of the future—and thus as a symbol of reproduction that delimits the scope of the political field. The "Child," Lee Edelman writes, "remains the perpetual horizon of every acknowledged politics, the fantasmic beneficiary of every political intervention" (*No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004], 2).
5. Linda Gordon, "U.S. Women's History," in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 258.
6. Recent scholarship probes the complexities of neoliberalism, even as scholars debate the utility of the term itself. See, for example, Melinda Cooper, *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Zone Books / Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2017); Julia Ott, "Words Can't Do the Work for Us," *Dissent*, January 22, 2018, available online at dissentmagazine.org/blog/neoliberalism-forum-julia-ott.
7. Chinn and Duane, introduction, 14, 16.
8. Corinne T. Field and Nicholas L. Syrett, introduction to *Age in America: The Colonial Era to the Present*, ed. Corinne T. Field and Nicholas L. Syrett (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 1.
9. Paula S. Fass, *The End of American Childhood: A History of Parenting from Life on the Frontier to the Managed Child* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016), 226, 221.
10. Nikhil Pal Singh and others have identified the tortured logic of the term "postwar," given that the United States has been in a constant state of war since 1945. While the editors and authors of *Growing Up America* recognize the problems inherent in this terminology, we periodically use it as a shorthand throughout the volume. See Singh, "A Radical History of How We Got to Donald Trump," *Intercepted* podcast, October 5, 2018, theintercept.com/2018/10/05/from-nation-state-to-empire-state-a-radical-history-of-how-we-got-to-trump/.
11. Margaret Peacock, *Innocent Weapons: The Soviet and American Politics of Childhood in the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 24–28.
12. Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice about Children* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).
13. Matthew D. Lassiter, "Impossible Criminals: The Suburban Imperatives of America's War on Drugs," *Journal of American History* 102, no. 1 (June 2015): 128.
14. Julilly Kohler-Hausmann, "Guns and Butter: The Welfare State, the Carceral State, and the Politics of Exclusion in the Postwar United States," *Journal of American History* 102, no. 1 (June 2015): 93; Elizabeth Hinton, "'A War within Our Own Boundaries': Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and the Rise of the Carceral State," *Journal of American History* 102, no. 1 (June 2015): 100–112.
15. Natasha Zaretsky, *No Direction Home: The American Family and the Fear of National Decline, 1968–1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Cooper, *Family Values*; Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy since the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012).

16. Bradford Smith, "Children in Custody: 20-Year Trends in Juvenile Detention, Correctional, and Shelter Facilities," *Crime and Delinquency* 44, no. 4 (October 1998): 535; Suzanne M. Bianchi, "Feminization and Juvenilization of Poverty: Trends, Relative Risks, Causes, and Consequences," *Annual Review of Sociology* 25 (1999): 307–33.
17. Anita Casavantes Bradford, *The Revolution Is for the Children: The Politics of Childhood in Havana and Miami, 1959–1962* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
18. Robin Bernstein, "Childhood as Performance," in *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*, ed. Anna Mae Duane (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 203–12; Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," in ibid., 216.
19. Susan A. Miller, "Assent as Agency in the Early Years of the Children of the American Revolution," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2016): 49.
20. Julie Passanante Elman, *Chronic Youth: Disability, Sexuality, and U.S. Media Cultures of Rehabilitation* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 20, emphasis in original.
21. For more details on the history of youngsters' personal transformations as political reforms, see Sara Fieldston, *Raising the World: Child Welfare in the American Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), 12–23. On the connection between personality and politics, see Greg Eghigian, Andreas Killen, and Christine Leuenberger, "Introduction: The Self as Project; Politics and the Human Sciences in the Twentieth Century," *Osiris* 22 (2007): 1–25.
22. Miller, "Assent as Agency," 51.
23. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011).
24. Nancy Fraser, "The End of Progressive Neoliberalism," *Dissent* 64, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 131. See also Walter Benn Michaels, "Against Diversity," *New Left Review* 52 (July–August 2008): 33–36.
25. Self, *All in the Family*.
26. See, for example, Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford Schram, *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
27. "Florida Student Emma González to Lawmakers and Gun Advocates: 'We Call BS,'" CNN.com, February 17, 2018, cnn.com/2018/02/17/us/florida-student-emma-gonzalez-speech/index.html.
28. Ibid.; Barack Obama, Twitter post, February 22, 2018, twitter.com/BarackObama/status/966704319658647553; Alan Gomez, "How the Parkland Students Started a Gun-Control Movement," *USA Today*, February 22, 2018, usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2018/02/22/parkland-survivors-started-movement-when-they-took-gun-violence-heres-how-happened/361297002/.
29. Lincoln Anthony Blades, "Black Teens Have Been Fighting for Gun Reform for Years," *Teen Vogue*, February 23, 2018.
30. Robin Bernstein, "Let Black Kids Just Be Kids," *New York Times*, July 26, 2017; Sarah Ruiz-Grossman, "We Need to Talk about Black Lives and Gun Violence after Florida Shooting," *Huffington Post*, February 22, 2018.
31. Lois Ann Clark to John F. Kennedy, September 16, 1963, box 220, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Mass.

PART 1
GLOBAL CHILDHOOD AND THE EARLY COLD WAR

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The Junior Marshall Plan

CHILDREN, WORLD FRIENDSHIP, AND INTERNATIONALISM AFTER WORLD WAR II

SARA FIELDSTON

On the morning of May 17, 1947, U.S. military government official Lois E. Wells set off by Jeep to the Gertraudenschule, a girls' school in Berlin. The past winter had been a particularly harsh one, and many German citizens still lacked adequate food and other provisions. But on that sunny spring morning, the Gertraudenschule students were throwing a party, and the American official was the guest of honor. Upon arriving at the school, Wells found the entire student body assembled on the lawn. Four tables had been stacked with milk, bacon, eggs, chocolates, and other fare. The food, however, was not for immediate consumption. A gift from students at the George School, a coeducational Quaker school in Pennsylvania, the groceries were to be distributed among the eagerly assembled pupils to take home to their families.

Wells sat in a chair at the head of the assembly while the Gertraudenschule students sang songs, recited a poem, and presented her with drawings. After the food had been distributed, the German youngsters regaled the American official with a fashion show in which they showed off clothing recently received from their friends in Pennsylvania. As each girl displayed her outfit, she pointed out the article of clothing received from the United States. "Dresses, coats, stockings, and sweaters paraded by," Wells reported in a letter to the George School. "One little girl even lifted up her skirt to show some nice white underwear." Wells left the fête with twelve bouquets of flowers and a keen sense of optimism about the future of German and American friendship. "I must say," she admitted, "I felt quite like visiting royalty!"[1]

George School students were far from alone in their efforts to assist their peers in war-torn Europe. During the years immediately following World War II, thousands of schools, Scout troops, and groups of young friends devoted their energies to assisting children afflicted by the recent war. As Marshall Plan funds rebuilt European economies and infrastructure, hundreds of tons of gifts and relief supplies collected by American youth fortified and delighted the Continent's youngest residents. Yet this effort, which some dubbed the "Junior Mar-

shall Plan," was not just about material aid. Youth leaders and educators saw efforts to assist children overseas as merely the first step in forging international friendships. By collecting funds and gifts, penning letters, and even traveling overseas themselves, American children would, in the words of George School teacher Arthur Hinton, "bridge the gap of unacquaintance and misunderstanding that led to earlier wars."[2]

As the party at the Gertraudenschule illustrates, world friendship programs inspired an outpouring of American resources to assist the children of Europe. They expanded American children's horizons and fostered personal relationships that spanned an ocean. Indeed, two years after the affair at the Gertraudenschule, a group of George School students spent six weeks in Germany helping their peers rebuild a school reduced to rubble during the war. Exchanges between the George School and its German counterparts would continue for decades to come.[3]

But while the Gertraudenschule assembly demonstrated world friendship programs' potential, it also made clear their limits. Like the larger Marshall Plan itself, the Junior Marshall Plan favored European youth over those in Asia and elsewhere around the world. In fetishizing material goods, it mirrored the consumerist emphasis of the Marshall Plan. And, as Wells's privileged position at the party made clear, the nonreciprocal bestowal of gifts reinforced the notion both at home and abroad that the United States was the preeminent global benefactor. World friendship efforts promoted an internationalist ethos while simultaneously reifying the power asymmetries between the United States and other countries around the world.

This chapter illustrates the significance of children and young people as political actors in the foreign policy arena. In writing letters and assembling gift packages for their counterparts overseas, American youngsters took concrete steps toward promoting peace and global harmony. They expressed goodwill to recent enemies and registered their support for the United Nations. In portraying their countries as friendly and worthy of aid, foreign children, too, bolstered American-led relief and reconstruction efforts. Yet historians have only recently begun to examine the ways in which young people reshaped ideas about foreign affairs. And while a burgeoning body of scholarship considers the role played by ordinary citizens in international relations, children's political heft in the foreign policy arena has, until recently, been largely overlooked.[4] This chapter argues that youngsters both in the United States and overseas helped strengthen internationalism during the years following World War II even as their efforts reflected its internal tensions and contradictions.

Examining the Junior Marshall Plan also deepens our understanding of internationalism itself. Historians have documented the efforts of intellectuals, politicians, and activists to establish international institutions and foster global connections that transcended the boundaries of the nation-state. The cataclysm of World War II, historian Glenda Sluga reveals, transformed interna-

tionalism from a utopian hope into a politically viable idea whose most notable expression came in the establishment of the United Nations. But internationalism was not monolithic, nor did it reflexively serve as a counterpoint to parochialism. As Sluga makes clear, internationalism accommodated and advanced nationalist and imperialist ideas. While the ranks of internationalists contained anticolonialists and those striving for racial justice, they also included leaders deeply invested in maintaining existing power structures. Indeed, the principal founders of the UN sought to put an end to global conflict even as they did little to dismantle their nations' racially exclusionary immigration policies or imperial holdings.[5] The Junior Marshall Plan serves as a case study that shows how young people made sense of internationalist ideas in all their complexity and integrated them into everyday practices on the ground.

Even as this chapter sheds light on a burgeoning internationalist ideal, then, it also documents the important role played by American schools, civic groups, and youngsters themselves in rallying popular support for America's new position as global hegemon. At home and abroad, world friendship programs portrayed the United States' actions as benevolent and cast the country's new global responsibilities as natural and inevitable. As such, the Junior Marshall Plan ultimately reveals both the promise and the limits of internationalism in the immediate postwar period.

This chapter begins by charting the rise of world friendship programs in the direct aftermath of World War II. With the support of educators and government officials alike, children wrote letters and sent thousands of parcels to new friends overseas. They did so both in the hope of preventing another world war and with the goal of promoting American-style democracy around the world. The chapter then turns to an examination of children's letters themselves, drawing on over one hundred missives penned by youngsters in the United States and in Europe.[6] From Pennsylvania to Paris, children wrote about their families, their hobbies, and their experiences during the recent war. But the personal, this chapter argues, was also political: youngsters' letters served to strengthen America's foreign alliances, convert enemies into friends, and cement American global preeminence. Finally, the chapter follows a small contingent of young Americans who traveled to Europe during the late 1940s. Armed with wheelbarrows and hammers, youngsters played a pivotal role in rebuilding the Continent—and in transforming internationalism into a marker of elite status.

Adventures in World Friendship in the Classroom

While world friendship efforts proliferated during the late 1940s, international exchanges among children were first organized on a significant scale during World War I. During the 1920s and 1930s, Scout troops, church groups, and the American Red Cross's division for youngsters, the Junior Red Cross (JRC), facilitated the exchange of gifts and correspondence between young Americans and their counterparts across the globe. The JRC worked through the schools;

by writing curricula for adoption by teachers, the group was able to reach a large audience of youngsters. While these programs enlisted the participation of thousands of children, they also garnered criticism, as they challenged prevailing isolationist sentiments.[7]

Although World War II disrupted such international exchanges, world friendship enjoyed wide popularity during the years immediately following the war. And children were not the only participants in international friendship projects. The Friendship Train traversed the United States in 1947 and 1948, collecting 270 boxcars full of food for the citizens of France and Italy. Numerous American cities "adopted" cities in Europe, sending both letters and relief supplies.[8] But while adults sought to support and connect with citizens in war-torn regions, children stood at the center of postwar world friendship efforts. Educators and government officials alike viewed youngsters as ideal ambassadors, as their minds had yet to be warped by the prejudices that afflicted their elders. Moreover, new trends in the sciences of psychology and human development reinforced the importance of raising children to be world-minded. While Enlightenment thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau had described children as blank slates waiting to be etched, many early twentieth-century child-rearing experts and educators had embraced eugenics. But postwar experts, disgusted by the Nazis' reliance on eugenics, rejected the notion that character was hereditary. This renewed emphasis on children's malleability had great repercussions for parenting, but it also had profound political implications. The right kind of training in childhood, government leaders and educators contended, could produce the kinds of citizens who would, at long last, forge a lasting peace.[9]

Schools and youth groups played an important role in cultivating world friendships. The JRC continued to promote its international correspondence program, as well as programs that sent toys and supplies to needy youths overseas, among its twenty million members in nearly 140,000 schools across the country.[10] New groups with the mission of promoting world friendship also appeared in the conflict's aftermath. In 1945 Ernst Papanek, an Austrian-born psychologist, founded a group called American Youth for World Youth (AYWY), which worked with schools, summer camps, and youth groups to facilitate the exchange of letters and gifts between children in the United States and those overseas. The group drew the support of many luminaries: its chairman was famed Progressive educator William Heard Kilpatrick, and its advisory board included the head of the U.S. Children's Bureau and Albert Einstein. AYWY claimed the participation of ten million students, making it the second-largest organization in the field of world friendship behind the JRC.[11]

Smaller groups, too, connected American schools and those abroad. A group called the School Affiliation Service (SAS), led by Phillips Academy headmaster emeritus Alfred E. Stearns, worked in concert with a Quaker voluntary agency, the American Friends Service Committee, to match over two hundred schools in the United States with counterparts in Europe. Numerous Jewish groups appealed to young American Jews to correspond with youthful Holocaust survi-

vors. Some organizations, such as the JRC, coordinated translation services. Others left it up to individual schools to translate incoming correspondence. (Foreign youngsters were sometimes eager to practice their English; American schoolchildren likewise on occasion practiced writing in foreign languages.) While correspondence and gift parcels were the most common media of international exchange, a few schools and organizations also coordinated the exchange of young people themselves.

Some educators incorporated world friendship into their curricula even without the encouragement or support of outside organizations. Shortly before the war ended, the California State Department of Education published a bulletin with ideas for teachers on how to incorporate "world friendship" into lesson plans from kindergarten through senior high school. "The school and the forces of education have great responsibility in developing attitudes and understandings leading to world unity," the bulletin noted. During the 1946–47 academic year, students in the New York City public school system observed World Friendship Hour, devoting "at least one hour each week to the studies and activities of world friendship and to the efforts to create a better world." The Louisville, Kentucky, school system dedicated the following year to the theme of international amity, publishing a thick pamphlet titled *Adventures in World Friendship*, which chronicled students' efforts to learn about and connect with their peers across the globe.[12] Outside of the schools, Scout troops and other youth organizations reinforced the message that American children could help prevent another world war by connecting with those overseas.

While the United States had assumed massive global responsibilities during the war, the role that the country would play in the postwar world was not yet clear when the conflict drew to a close. In the war's immediate aftermath, some Americans looked to world friendship projects as a means of preventing a return to the isolationist stance of the 1920s and 1930s. "We do not want our children to become isolationists," one American Red Cross official told a newspaper reporter. "It is up to the chapter and school officials to see that they do not." Kilpatrick explained to the boys and girls reading the AYWY's newsletter in 1948: "After World War I America clung to its previous, though by then inadequate[,] way of thinking: it refused to join the League of Nations. This was selfishness; and World War II is its cost to us. Now we see and act more broadly."[13] Couching foreign affairs in the language of interpersonal relationships, Kilpatrick appealed to young people to help support their country's new, broad-minded, internationalist stance.

Activities in schools and youth groups reinforced the message that good American citizens expressed concern for the welfare of those beyond their nation's borders. One way of doing so, many educators claimed, was by supporting the newly formed United Nations. In Louisville, students at Parkland Junior High celebrated the UN's second birthday in 1947 with the World Friendship Pageant. Against a backdrop of large calendars with important dates in the history of the UN circled, students recited the Atlantic Charter by rote

and described how the UN had come into being. A group of children then entered the auditorium carrying the flags of the fifty-one original signatories of the UN charter. The pageant concluded with the lighting of candles. "The World is at the Cross Roads. The battle of the Peace has now begun," the students intoned. "May the glow of these candles shed rays of hope to the thousand million peoples of the earth for Peace in Our Time."[14] Equating internationalism with peace, Parkland Junior High's pageant imparted the lesson that global harmony could be achieved only by working with nations around the globe. At the same time, the pageant highlighted the outsized role of the United States and other Western powers in establishing the UN itself.

While flags and candlelight were dramatic gestures of support for world friendship, educators also promoted internationalism in more quotidian ways. The Harvey School in Hawthorne, New York, for example, was matched by the SAS with a school in Caen, France. Teachers posted a large map of France with Caen's location circled, beneath which they constructed a miniature house that functioned as a collection box for donations for their French friends.[15] By subtly reminding children on a daily basis of their connection with the world at large, educators sought to teach students to think globally—and to remind them of their country's duty to aid those overseas.

Youth leaders, educators, and parents underscored the parallels between the efforts of the American government to rebuild the war-shattered world and children's own efforts to support their peers abroad. The Junior Marshall Plan even received the blessing of its namesake, U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall. In February 1948 Marshall met with a contingent of Cub Scouts, who proudly presented him with their scheme to support eight needy European boys for a year. Marshall marveled at the youngsters' world-mindedness—"at their age," the secretary noted, "my world extended about 6 miles"—and thanked them for their contribution to "establishing relations of friendship and good will and trust that are so important to our Government, to our people and to the world and to peace." When nine-year-old Bobby Linden leaped into the secretary of state's chair, Marshall suggested that he remain there permanently.[16]

Though educators and youth leaders frequently looked to world friendship projects as a means of securing the peace, U.S. officials described them as a means of promoting democracy overseas. Lois E. Wells, the American official who visited the Gertraudenschule, urged support for affiliations between German and American schools. "There is a receptivity among school-age Germans to American ideas and patterns which will ebb away if not encouraged," Wells noted. The Department of State, too, looked to correspondence with young Americans to "help contribute to the democratic reorientation of young people in former Axis countries."[17] In the immediate postwar period, fascism appeared to pose the most pressing threat to U.S. interests. By the late 1940s, when communism emerged as the preeminent global menace, world friendship projects would be well-poised to become part of the American anticommunist agenda.

Secretary of State George Marshall meets with members of Cub Scout Pack 232 in February 1948 and endorses the children's plan to support eight needy European boys for a year. Courtesy of the George C. Marshall Foundation, Lexington, Virginia.

Although youthful world friendship projects appeared to support U.S. foreign policy goals and received the imprimatur of American leaders, government involvement was relatively limited. Many public schools, of course, organized world friendship projects. Overseas, the military government matched some German and Austrian schools with affiliates in the United States. U.S. officials also recruited young correspondents over Voice of America, the government-funded foreign radio broadcast, directing interested youngsters to private groups that facilitated such exchanges.[18] The most significant organizations supporting world friendship, however, were privately funded. Unlike the Marshall Plan itself, the Junior Marshall Plan was dependent upon the goodwill and generosity of millions of young Americans. The Junior Marshall Plan was a piecemeal effort, the cumulative effort of hundreds of local and national groups with a variety of priorities and motivations. Nonetheless, during a time when the scale and scope of the Marshall Plan came under fierce criticism from some corners of government, the international friendship efforts associated with the Junior Marshall Plan served to help sell America's new global responsibilities to the American public at large. While many children readily accepted internationalist friendship responsibilities, however, the task of corresponding with distant peers presented a new challenge that children would have to navigate.

"Dear Unknown American Friend"

Gabi had a problem. The Hungarian youngster had been assigned a pen pal in the United States, but the thirteen-year-old did not know what to write. "It is a very strange feeling to write a letter for somebody whom I don't know," the teen admitted in a letter addressed to an unknown peer across the ocean.[19] Gabi's dilemma was not unique: thousands of children's letters, many composed to unknown friends, traversed the ocean during the postwar years. By writing, assembling albums, and sending parcels, young correspondents learned about children in other countries and sought to rebuild a continent scarred by conflict. In letters often terse but sometimes lengthy, youngsters shared information about their lives, sent thanks for gifts received, and attempted to make sense of their distant yet intimate relationships with one another. In this way, children not only forged personal connections but also reconfigured the relationship between America and the world at large.

While writing to a stranger could be daunting, America was hardly an unknown country to European children. Sixteen-year-old Zsusi explained to her new American pen pal: "Here in Europe the people speak very much about the big USA. At the movies play many American films. Sometimes in the street I see American soldier and everywhere hear to speak English. So a little I know about you." Indeed, America loomed large in the eyes of many European children as a symbol of both freedom and wealth. "You don't know how happy you are there in the free America," a Hungarian youngster named Peter wrote in a letter to his American pen pal asking for food and clothing. "Now that your here soldiers has delivered Europe, we stand here [with] nothing." An Italian youngster, Maria, experienced U.S. generosity in more delectable terms: "The Americans are bringing us to many beautiful things: chocolates, caramels. . . . I like them very much," she told her American pen pal.[20] Preconceived notions about U.S. power and largesse shaped the relationship between American children and their foreign peers even before the first letters were exchanged.

At times, children's letters appeared to transcend differences of wealth and nation. Jewish orphans in Poland connected with their American pen pals over a love of stamp collecting and even used their letters to contemplate their faith. Fifth graders at the Radnor School in Wayne, Pennsylvania, told their new Italian pen pals about their baseball games, their classroom's zoo, and their studies of ancient Rome. But many Radnor School students also ended their letters with a postscript similar to the one penned by Barbara: "PS—If there is anything you would like me to send you from America please write and let me know."[21] Likely a line suggested by a teacher, given its frequent appearance in the class members' letters, this postscript served as a subtle reminder of American wealth and power.

Indeed, while accounts of everyday life connected children, they also had the potential to cast into sharp relief the differences between American youngsters and their foreign peers. Children in Budapest wrote about attending school only

two to three times a week due to lack of heat and described in detail their destroyed city. "We have suffered for a long time," one boy told his American pen pal. "We have been cold, hungry very much and now [that] we [are] free, the misery has not come to an end."[22] Even seemingly mundane topics could drive home the vast disparities between life in the United States and that in many parts of postwar Europe. "How lucky you are that you can ride to school in a car," a thirteen-year-old Italian youngster wrote. "I go on foot. A car is something I have never been in. Sometimes I ride on the farm wagon drawn by steers. I just can't imagine a little girl who goes to school in a car."[23]

Disparities between the United States and Europe were further emphasized by the way in which organizations and schools operated world friendship programs. By design, most programs involved the exchange of both letters and packages. Letters traversed the Atlantic in both directions, but the lion's share of parcels flowed from the United States to Europe. Although this dynamic made sense, given postwar conditions, the uneven exchange of material goods reinforced the notion of American dominance. In the wake of the First World War, the JRC had realized that American children's donations of relief supplies threatened to erode feelings of parity. Hoping to forge international friendships among equals, the JRC had designed a new international correspondence program that involved the exchange of portfolios with drawings, photographs, and reports written by children about their schools and towns.[24] But while JRC correspondence remained decoupled from material aid, letters and gifts were closely linked in the programs run by AYWY, the SAS, and many other groups. (Moreover, the JRC operated separate programs that sent gifts and relief supplies to children abroad.) Whether directed by organizations or on their own volition, American correspondents nearly always sent their foreign correspondents goods; in some instances, organizations even relied on American gifts, accompanied by letters, to spark transatlantic relationships. World friendship programs thus reinforced perceptions of Americans as benefactors.

Youth leaders contended that American gifts were merely a symbolic starting point in reciprocal relationships between youngsters. But in truth, material goods lay at the heart of international friendships. Many (if not most) European children's missives were preoccupied with goods, either thanking foreign friends for sending them or requesting items to be sent. One organization urged American youngsters to send "one gift a year to one child overseas"; in 1947 it awarded a citation to a New York City high schooler who collected three thousand gift packages, an individual record.[25] "Only a few teachers and certainly a very few of the students have begun to grasp the meaning of the School Affiliation program," one of the SAS workers stationed in rural Italy admitted in a letter to her colleagues in the United States, "but they do understand that this is a contact with America, and that means a possibility of packages from America."[26]

Gifts, of course, delighted foreign children. "You cannot imagine how great my joy was as I heard I was among the chosen children to receive an 'American parcel,'" one fourth grader in Vienna wrote. "According to my conceptions it was al-

most a miracle."[27] But gifts also carried with them political messages. Presents from the United States taught children to associate America with material abundance—abundance made possible, U.S. leaders insisted, by capitalism and free markets. The Junior Marshall Plan worked alongside its official counterpart to help export to Europe what historian Lizabeth Cohen has called the "Consumers' Republic," a set of ideas and policies that positioned consumer spending as the best method for securing democracy, egalitarianism, and freedom.[28]

Even as world friendship programs taught children lessons in American abundance, however, they also imparted lessons about service. Few American children had access to excess funds, and gifts sent to their counterparts overseas frequently involved effort and sacrifice. Many students in New Hampshire, for instance, missed their lunch to contribute to a food fund. Not satisfied with their yield, the students held an auction that raised additional funds for their foreign friends. Elementary schoolers in New York City made mittens, cookies, and hard candies to send abroad. Gift giving often reinforced traditional gender roles: Camp Fire Girls sewed aprons to fill with goodies for girls overseas, and Girl Scouts constructed or repaired one hundred thousand full wardrobes.[29] For American children, then, giving, and not merely spending, became an integral part of citizenship.

Children's letters suggest that U.S. officials' and educators' hopes that friendship programs would promote democracy and American influence were, in some cases, well founded. Thankful children in Holland penned a verse for their American friends:

> In this land we have two flags
> That cannot stay apart.
> One flag waves about our heads
> And yours is in our hearts.[30]

"I found in the American Library here at Kassel your program and your newspaper," a German boy wrote to AYWY. "That I saw, that the American youth and the whole American people is a democratic Nation, for they help the needy youth in the world. In this way the German youth best can see, what democracy is. I see in the U.S.A. the standard of democracy. And the most of the German boys and girls think so." Antonio, an Italian child, conveyed similar sentiments to his American pen pal: "Americans and Italians have always been friends since 1492, [a] memorable date for you and us. We have been enemies in this war not because it was desired by the people but because it had been decided in this way by the governors. We wish to thank with all our hearts the great American institution for the help which is given to the countries hit by the war."[31] International friendships helped repair the frayed bonds connecting America and its former enemies. At the same time, they trained foreign youngsters in how best to address the citizens of the new preeminent global power.

But if the Junior Marshall Plan strengthened the ties between young people in the United States and Europe, it did comparatively little to connect Ameri-

can youngsters with children elsewhere around the world. American Youth for World Youth had initially been called American Youth for European Youth; it had changed its name in an effort to convey a more global identity. While the organization did oversee some shipments to Asia, the majority of letters and parcels sent through the organization went to Europe. Likewise, the SAS in 1948 had enlisted the participation of 117 schools in France, 62 in Germany, 15 in Holland, 8 in Italy, 2 in Poland, and only 1 in Japan. JRC members corresponded more widely—American students sent albums to South America and Asia and even a few to Africa—but packages during the postwar years went primarily to Europe. World Friendship Day, commemorated by schoolchildren in the years directly following the war, was celebrated on V-E Day, not V-J Day.[32]

Part of the focus on Europe was due, of course, to many white Americans' immigrant roots. Children (and their teachers) were inclined to connect with the countries from which they could trace their forebears, and U.S. laws favored immigrants from Western Europe. Some children had family members suffering in Europe, which amplified their desire to assist their own countries of origin. Difficulties with language and voluntary agencies' more extensive infrastructure on the ground in Europe as compared to Asia also contributed to the lopsided focus.

But the role of racial prejudice in determining the focus on Europe cannot be discounted. To be sure, American children of all races wrote letters and sent parcels overseas, but a good number did so in segregated schools. The Louisville school system, which adopted "world friendship" as its theme for the 1947–48 academic year, would remain segregated until the *Brown* ruling forced it to desegregate.[33] Similarly, SAS official Henry Marter wrote to a colleague that the Walt Whitman School in New York City was "very interested in the racial question and would like very much to have contact with some school whose students are of a darker color than those in this country." Marter's comment effectively erased students of color in the United States—an erasure compounded by the fact that the Walt Whitman School had "no Negro students."[34]

In recognizing no contradiction between racial chauvinism and globalism, Marter highlighted one of the tensions at the heart of the Junior Marshall Plan—and at the center of postwar internationalism itself. By participating in world friendship efforts, American youngsters broadened their horizons and forged personal connections across the sea. They channeled much-needed supplies to their counterparts abroad and helped turn former enemies into allies. But their letters and neatly wrapped parcels did little to challenge prejudices at home. Global harmony depended on relationships forged across oceans, not across towns.

Young Travelers to a Broken Continent

On July 4, 1949, eleven hot and weary American boys stepped off a train in Düsseldorf to a cheering crowd of hundreds of Germans. High schoolers from the

George School in Pennsylvania, the boys had been corresponding with a group of students at the Jacobi Gymnasium for two years. They would now embark on a new experiment in world friendship, spending the summer helping their friends rebuild a school building almost completely destroyed during the war. At least one American boy found the profusion of goodwill to be a bit overwhelming. Newly minted high school graduate Ted Curran described the group's "tumultuous reception" in a letter to his parents: "There were many speeches and flowers and fruit (not overripe) were thrown at us and many pictures taken," Curran recounted. "I was forced to drink a glass of beer. . . . I managed to gulp it down with a straight face but I really didn't like it at all," he confessed.[35]

The George School group was one of several contingents of American young people who participated in work camps in Europe during the years immediately following the war. Animated both by a desire to help rebuild the continent and by an impulse to see the world, a number of young people boarded transport ships reconfigured for students and spent their summers working alongside European peers in an effort to repair countries shattered by war. Some youngsters worked to restore or construct buildings. Others served as counselors in summer camps for European children. During the summer of 1947, AYWY sent American youth to work at camps in France and Belgium, and in 1948 the organization expanded its program into Austria, Germany, and Italy. The majority of young Americans who journeyed abroad during the late 1940s were college students or recent graduates. But there were a few high schoolers among the international travelers as well: in addition to the George School group, the Fieldston School in New York worked with AYWY to organize a group of twenty-two New York City students, who spent the summer working alongside young people from all over Europe constructing a home for war orphans in the French Alps.[36] This hands-on component of the Junior Marshall Plan allowed young people to put internationalist sentiments into practice even as it challenged them to come to terms with their country's own place on the rapidly changing world stage.

Ted Curran and his peers would live alongside German students in the one wing of the Jacobi Gymnasium not destroyed by British bombs. The boys spent most days hauling away rubble. "At the end of the morning I always feel like dropping into bed for the rest of the day," Curran admitted in a letter home. Hoping to plant the seeds of democracy in German soil, work camp leaders left the management of daily tasks up to the young participants themselves.[37] The Fieldston School group lived in a peasant cottage through which livestock wandered freely. The youngsters' parents had paid for extra food to be shipped from the United States; when it failed to arrive at the camp, the Americans made do with the same potato soup and black bread (slathered with American peanut butter while it lasted) on which their European peers subsisted. As with gift-giving programs, traditional gender roles were reinforced: Fieldston School boys used picks and shovels to carve out a road to the orphans' village, while the girls did laundry and cooked meals for the group.[38]

Despite the privations endured, or perhaps because of them, the American youngsters forged friendships with their European counterparts. On the last night of the Fieldston students' tenure at the camp, relayed their teacher, all the work campers—French, British, Dutch, Czechoslovakian, Norwegian, Finnish, Algerian, American—held hands in a circle and sang "Auld Lang Syne" "in as many different tongues as there were nations represented." The American group made plans to maintain a correspondence with its French counterpart.[39] Curran received an invitation to play tennis at a German friend's club ("I beat him rather easily," he told his parents), swam with the Jacobi boys in the Rhine, and visited a friend's home in the German countryside. His German mates told him about their time in the Hitler Youth. "Taking them as boys, however, they are all cheery, singing and laughing all the time," Curran wrote in a letter home. Nearly fifty years later, after a long career in the U.S. Foreign Service, Curran would remember his time in Germany as "a pivotal moment in my life."[40] American children strengthened the United States' foreign alliances and performed vital work in transforming former enemies into friends. For some, like Curran, firsthand experiences in cultivating world friendship would serve as the foundation for future careers.

But even as they formed relationships that crossed national borders, young Americans could not escape the privilege that their U.S. passports conferred. One American youngster who served as a counselor at one of AYWY's summer camps described encountering "resentment against our having so much money as to enable us to come to Europe and particularly to the camp for such a short time." Some Europeans were also wary of Americans' perceived power and influence. "Among some of our . . . friends we have found great pessimism about our understanding. They were convinced that, in spite of our personal friendships, we Americans will impose upon them and create a pure American atmosphere on their soil," another AYWY participant noted. In other cases, European gratitude made American young people uncomfortable. One youngster related, "They begged us to let them wash and iron our clothing and when the [American] girl refused, one of them said 'Am I not good enough to wash for you?'"[41]

International travel programs were also shaped by social divisions within the United States itself. Only the most privileged American teenagers ventured overseas for the summer during the postwar years. Traveling abroad with AYWY, for instance, cost $650 to $700—a prohibitive expense for most American families at a time when the average annual income was $3,000. American youngsters and their European peers had to overcome the barriers of language and circumstance, but they often had much else in common. Ted Curran, for one, felt quite at home playing tennis at his German friend's club, which he described to his parents as "the swankiest club in town."[42] Although they took place on a small scale, world friendship programs involving travel helped create an international cadre of young elites who were well educated, relatively wealthy, and mostly (if not entirely) white. Internationalism thus became a marker of social class.

Just as educators and youth leaders were praising world friendship programs' effectiveness in cultivating an internationalist ethos on both sides of the Atlantic, though, the brewing Cold War was altering the meaning of world friendship. American young people who spent the summer in Europe in 1948 and 1949 witnessed firsthand the lowering of the Iron Curtain. A group of counselors stationed at a summer camp in Italy in 1948 were in Rome on the day that the Italian communist leader Palmiro Togliatti was shot and severely wounded. Witnessing mobs armed with clubs and the Soviet flag, the young Americans retreated indoors and quickly left the city the next day. The George School group in Düsseldorf received a visit from a student at the Gertraudenschule who brought news of the troubles facing residents of divided Berlin. AYWY abandoned plans for proposed work camps in Czechoslovakia and Greece due to a war scare with the Soviet Union.[43] The division of Europe made the kind of border crossing encouraged by world friendship programs suspect, if not impossible.

By the early 1950s, as popular support for the United Nations dwindled and conservative commentators assailed internationalism as un-American, the surge of interest in and funding for the Junior Marshall Plan that had peaked during the immediate postwar years dissipated. AYWY would end its programs in 1950, unable to raise enough funds to carry on. Other programs would continue—the Boy Scouts operated the robust World Friendship Fund, which Mischa Honeck discusses in the next chapter—but they would be forced to adapt to the new realities of a bipolar world. By the mid-1950s, international friendship would take on a more sharply nationalist tone as many organizations explicitly embraced the mission of promoting the American way of life to the offspring of the so-called free world.[44]

As this chapter illustrates, however, American internationalism and U.S. global hegemony were crucially connected. Both grew out of the same soil, soil scorched by war and nourished by the hope of a postwar order defined by both peace and democracy. Through letters, parcels, and personal visits, American children worked to cultivate the international friendships that many insisted would build a harmonious world. They also reinforced the United States' new position as global benefactor, a role that would only become more important in the years to come. America's youngest citizens served as bearers of both goodwill and global power, a legacy that profoundly shaped the world they would eventually inherit.

NOTES

1. Lois E. Wells to George Walton, May 19, 1947, folder Schools 1947, box Foreign Service 1947, School Affiliation Service (F) to U.S. Government, American Friends Service Committee Archives, Philadelphia, Pa. (hereafter AFSC).
2. "Junior Marshall," *Washington Post*, February 13, 1948, 20; Arthur Hinton, "Die Brücke: George School's Work Camp in Germany; A Summer of Work and Fun in Europe," *Clearing House* 24, no. 5 (January 1950): 286.

3. Kenneth E. Keskinen, "Twenty Years of Affiliation at George School," *Friends Journal*, July 15, 1967, 389–90.
4. Donna Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946–1965* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Jennifer Helgren, "'Homemaker' Can Include the World: Female Citizenship and Internationalism in the Postwar Camp Fire Girls," in *Girlhood: A Global History*, ed. Jennifer Helgren and Colleen A. Vasconcellos (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2010). See also "Special Forum: Transnational Generations: Organizing Youth in the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (April 2014): 233–98.
5. Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), esp. 79–117; Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Robert A. Divine, *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America during World War II* (New York: Atheneum, 1967).
6. The records of U.S. organizations contain more letters written by children abroad than letters written by children in the United States, most likely because American children generally did not save copies of letters they sent overseas.
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9. For more on this idea, see Sara Fieldston, *Raising the World: Child Welfare in the American Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), esp. 12–31.
10. Catherine MacKenzie, "Junior Red Cross to Expand Its Program of Help for Children in Foreign Lands," *New York Times*, February 18, 1946, 16.
11. On the history of AYWY, see Ernst Papanek, "American Youth for World Youth: Social Interest in Kilpatrick's Concept of Education," *Educational Theory* 16, no. 1 (January 1966): 59–70.
12. California State Department of Education, *Study in World Friendship: Designing a Symbol for the United Nations* (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1944), 3; Reinhold Schairer, "World Friendship Activities," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 20, no. 1 (September 1946): 54; *Adventures in World Friendship*, 1947–48, Louisville Public Schools, Louisville, Kentucky, folder AYFWY 1948, box 13, Ernst Papanek Papers, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, New York, New York (hereafter EP).
13. "500,000 Gift Boxes Sent to War Areas," *New York Times*, December 27, 1945, 15; William H. Kilpatrick, "The Meaning of Morality for the World Today," *American Youth for World Youth News Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (1948), folder AYFWY News Bulletin, 1946–48, box 13, EP.
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15. Preface, January 27, 1947, folder School Affiliation Service, Reports 1947, box Foreign Service 1947, School Affiliation Service (F) to U.S. Government, AFSC.
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11, 1948, 1; "Cubs Praised by Marshall," *Baltimore Sun*, March 20, 1948, 10; "Mr. Secretary Meets the Cubs," *LIFE Magazine*, February 23, 1948, 47.

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18. "Statement Announcing the Opening of Organized Correspondence Between German and American Youth," undated, folder 621.001 General Plans, box 1348, JRC.
19. Your unknown friend (Gabi R.) to Dear Friend, February 22, 1946, folder Refugee Children—World Jewish Congress, box 7, EP. The original spelling and grammar have been maintained in all quotes unless the meaning is unclear. Some letters were originally written in English; others were translated by the organizations facilitating the exchanges. Unless already in the public record, children are referred to by their first names only to protect their privacy.
20. Zsusi F. to Friend, February 12, 1946; Peter W. to My Dear Unknown Friend, undated [1946], folder Refugee Children—World Jewish Congress, box 7, EP; Maria A. to Dan W., undated, folder [N.D.], box 12, EP.
21. Letter from Barbara M., undated [1946], folder [N.D.], box 12, EP.
22. Zoltan[ek] R. to My Dear Friend, February 15, 1946; and Ervin L. to Friend, undated [1946], folder Refugee Children—World Jewish Congress, box 7, EP.
23. Dorothy Barrus to Henry H. Marter, April 25, 1947, folder School Affiliation Service, Italy, Letters to and from 1947, box Foreign Service 1947, School Affiliation Service (F) to U.S. Government, AFSC.
24. Irwin, "Teaching 'Americanism,'" 269–71.
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30. Robert B. Clem, "The World Friendship Program at Shawnee High School," in *Adventures in World Friendship*.
31. Papanek, "American Youth," 66; Antonio G. to "my Dear Friends of the United States' Schools," undated, folder 1945, box 12, EP.
32. School Affiliation Service of the American Friends Service Committee, June 15, 1948, folder 1948, June, box 12, EP; American Junior Red Cross International Projects, January 1, 1945–December 31, 1948, folder 621.1 International Service, box 1348, JRC; Schairer, "World Friendship Activities," 53.

33. Tracy E. K'Meyer, *From Brown to Meredith: The Long Struggle for School Desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky, 1954–2007* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).
34. Memorandum from Henry H. Marter to Lorraine Cleveland, Subject: Walt Whitman School, August 25, 1947, folder Schools 1947, box Foreign Service 1947, School Affiliation Service (F) to U.S. Government, AFSC.
35. Ted Curran to "Mother and Dad," July 6, 1949, folder 2, box 1, Robert Theodore Curran Papers 2, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Washington, D.C. (hereafter RTC).
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37. Ted Curran to "Mother and Dad," undated, folder 3, box 1, RTC; Hinton, "Die Brücke," 287.
38. Martha Munzer to Ernst Papanek, July 19, 1948, folder 1948, July, box 12, EP; "Enameled in Fire," undated, folder Reports [N.D.], box 13, EP.
39. "Enameled in Fire."
40. Ted Curran to "Mother, Dad and family," undated, folder 4; and Ted Curran to "Mother and Dad," undated, folder 3, box 1, RTC; Robert Theodore Curran, interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy, Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project, November 6, 1998, adst.org/OH%20TOCs/Curran,%20Robert%20Theodore.toc.pdf.
41. Papanek, "American Youth," 66–67.
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43. Christine Hellin to Ernst Papanek, July 14, 1948, folder 1948, July 1–15; and Chris's letter rec. 8-9-48, folder 1948, Aug., box 12, EP; Curran to "Mother, Dad and family," undated; Ruth Greenwood, "Papanek Tells Europe Youth Predicament," *UCLA Daily Bruin*, April 7, 1948, folder AYWY Clippings, box 13, EP.
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Friends of the Free World

THE BOY SCOUTS AND THE JUVENILIZATION OF AMERICA'S COLD WAR EMPIRE

MISCHA HONECK

After the cataclysm of two world wars and the onset of decolonization, modern empires rarely referred to themselves as such. Embracing the languages of democracy and self-determination, great powers began to frame their geopolitical interests in markedly anti-imperial terms. This is especially true of the United States, where talk of an "American Empire" continues to invite incredulity and outrage. Whether one calls it an "empire in denial" or an "empire that dare not speak its name," contemporary historians tend to exercise less restraint than their Cold War predecessors in pointing out the blinders of American exceptionalism that have dwarfed or even fully concealed the imperial dimensions of the nation's history.[1] To be sure, much of the historiographical debate on the "American Century" has been confined to the questions of whether the exercise of U.S. power beyond the boundaries of the nation-state was tantamount to empire and why Americans have such difficulty coming to grips with their imperial status. Far less attention has been paid to the cultural mechanisms by which twentieth-century Americans managed to convince themselves and others that their efforts at nation building at home and abroad were morally irreproachable and antithetical to empire. Childhood, this chapter contends, constituted one of these mechanisms.

Children sustain the edifice of empire in at least two distinct ways. Most obviously, modern discourses of childhood and youth have painted the young as future citizens and an investment in the transgenerational stability of existing social and political orders. Empire, according to this logic, worked primarily *on* children, as adults were inculcating in the young the lessons of race, class, gender, religion, and international relations that were supposed to make them functioning members of the state.[2] Focusing on the politics of child-rearing is important for understanding how children were seen as crucial to securing the longevity of various imperial projects, but it also risks obfuscating the ways in which empire worked *through* children. Building on recent historical scholarship in which childhood and youth operate as both demographic and symbolic

resources, the present chapter details how the pursuit of youthful innocence masked the disparities of wealth, power, and influence in America's emerging Cold War empire.[3] This softening of U.S. global power through the figure of the happy and healthy child was an enterprise that was at once international and intergenerational. It drew on positive adult images about youth and childhood as much as it pivoted on young people making their time, bodies, and enthusiasm available to recasting an expansionist foreign policy as benevolent support for an ailing planet.

Covering the period from the end of the Second World War to the Vietnam War, this chapter turns to one of America's oldest and largest youth organizations, the Boy Scouts of America (BSA), to map stateside and offshore spaces in which minors interacted with adults to shore up the morality of U.S. leadership in defending the family of free nations against the threat of communism. The Boy Scouts offered a perfect template for doing empire at a time when "empire" and "imperialism" had become dirty words in the American political lexicon. Growing out of a Progressive Era transatlantic network of Anglo-American educators, businessmen, and military elites, the emergence of the Boy Scouts reflected broader social anxieties about collective emasculation and imperial decline.[4] From its inception in 1910, the BSA forged homosocial bonds between boys and men while expanding its reach to the outer rims of U.S. state power and beyond. Lodged in the nation's white and largely Protestant middle class, the organization nonetheless accepted African American, Native American, and colonial boys as members, even as the BSA's white leadership considered them racially inferior.[5]

Race, ethnicity, and nationality continued to shape encounters between Scouts of diverse origins as the BSA experienced something akin to a golden age in the 1950s and 1960s. With the influx of the baby boomers, the organization more than tripled its membership from two million in 1945 to over six million by the late 1960s, which included troops stationed at U.S. military bases primarily in Western Europe and East Asia.[6] Ideologically, people affiliated with the BSA proclaimed that the Scout values of kindness, courtesy, and friendship did not stop at the water's edge. These people believed that strengthening the fraternity of citizens at home and building a "world brotherhood of boys" were indistinguishable civic duties for males of all age groups.

Although the BSA was never run by the government, it served the interests of the state in numerous ways. Scout leaders closely aligned themselves with major federal institutions such as Congress, which granted the BSA a congressional charter in 1916, and convinced all American chief executives since William Howard Taft to serve as honorary presidents of their organization. BSA administrators formed collaborative relationships with corporate America and staffed their boards with local and national business leaders. Clergymen of diverse faiths—mostly Protestant but also Jewish and occasionally Catholic—joined the BSA's ranks, as did members of the military, many of whom volunteered as Scoutmasters during or after they had seen active duty.[7] In turn, for-

mer Boy Scouts who became generals, ambassadors, astronauts, senators, and even presidents spoke out publicly on how Scouting had taught them to be resourceful and self-reliant, thus propping up the narrative that the BSA constituted a pipeline to national and international leadership.

The prominence of the term "brotherhood" in Boy Scout parlance hints at the movement's distinctive contribution to fusing the spheres of organized youth, Cold War culture, and free-world empire. Unlike other child-centered initiatives of the day, the Boy Scouts imagined the task of asserting the supremacy of the "American Way" not only as youthfully rejuvenating but also as inherently masculine. Scout organizers prided themselves on knowing how to make boys into men in postfrontier societies, but the movement's romanticized ideas about white, devout, middle-class boyhood also invited Scout leaders to embody a younger, morally unencumbered version of themselves, often at the expense of women and nonwhite youth. This juvenilization of manhood, which shrouded power relations in the emotionally resonant valences of youth such as flexibility, purity, and the promise of new beginnings, has eluded most historians who have explored the intersection of age and gender in Scouting. Yet only by conceptualizing the Boy Scouts as a homosocial, intergenerational movement that allowed men to recapture the innocence ascribed to young age at the same time that it enhanced the political productivity of boys can we appreciate the ways in which youth was deployed to recode imperial expansion as an unimpeachable masculine adventure.

The politics of friendship touted by the BSA transcended the boundaries of age and nation, ranging from Scout troops in the mainland to boys living abroad as military dependents. As Sara Fieldston details in the previous chapter, internationalism and empire were not polar opposites on the foreign policy spectrum of the United States after 1945. The politics of friendship exercised by the Scouts and kindred youth groups was elastic enough to adjust to a continually evolving Cold War reality. Its institutional hub was the World Friendship Fund (WFF), the BSA's foreign-aid program launched in the dying days of the Second World War, which encouraged American boys to form donor relationships with Scouts from other countries. The first section of this chapter discusses how the WFF and the initiatives associated with it filtered America's free-world empire through performances of cross-border fraternalism. Advertised as "international good turns," charitable projects through which Boy Scouts and their leaders sent overseas handbooks, badges, and uniforms validated the image of a benevolent superpower that harbored no vile intentions toward those it lifted from despair. The second and third sections take a critical look at the hierarchies of gender, race, and global-ideological orientation these projects helped to cement, first by documenting how the BSA's definition of world friendship denigrated females, marginalized blacks, and excluded communists, then by gauging the limitations of the "campfire diplomacy" practiced by American Boy Scouts, who were portrayed as ideal ambassadors venturing out into the world in pursuit of fun and camaraderie, not dominance. Putting boys front and center in

the crusade against communism made the latter seem less intimidating and aggressive, allowing Scout leaders and their supporters in the government, business, and the military to regain a sense of optimism precisely when gender uncertainties, generational conflict, racial unrest, and fears of a nuclear holocaust were pointing toward a bleaker future.

While acknowledging that widening the BSA's external footprint buttressed establishment interests, the chapter will also probe the extent to which the organization's post-1945 cross-border activities opened up spaces where U.S. Boy Scouts could engage with the wider world on terms that were not dictated by their superiors. This means accounting for the dialectic intrinsic to any youth organization between representations of youth and young people as historical actors, as well as coming to grips with the contradictions between adult prescriptions and the practices of actual youth. It would be misleading, though, to conflate understandings of agency in the context of organized youth with rigid notions of resistance or subversion. Rather, it was a collaborative effort involving boys and men that made it possible to practice the "politics of deflection," a phrase coined by the political theorist Jeanne Morefield to describe how Anglo-American elites have historically donned the mantle of civilization to turn attention away from the violence and systemic inequalities of race, class, and gender endemic to white male supremacy.[8] Imperial manhood needed boys not only to sustain itself but to gloss over its oppressive propensities.

The Gift of Freedom

In June 1952 the Boy Scouts of Rockford, Illinois, gave a warm welcome to a former Hitler Youth. Georg Pruser, a twenty-four-year-old West German Scoutmaster, had made the trip across the Atlantic as the winner of a scholarship competition for foreign youth workers jointly sponsored by the United Nations and the WFF. Although Pruser was old enough to teach his American hosts a lesson or two about tracking or tying knots, he had come to America as a student. Pruser played his role as the de-Nazified German to perfection. Interning with an American Boy Scout troop, Pruser stated, had strengthened his opposition to "government-sponsored youth movements" such as those that had existed in Nazi Germany and still existed in Soviet Russia and helped him grasp "the constructive balance between individual action and group discipline."[9] Pruser also spoke in glowing terms of his host family, in particular of Rockford's BSA executive, Harold H. Homan, and his sixteen-year-old son, Harold William. It was Harold William who had motivated Pruser to apply for the scholarship in the first place. The two had met the previous summer at one of global Scouting's multinational summer camps, the world jamboree in Bad Ischl, Austria, where both had represented their countries' Boy Scout organizations.[10]

Pruser's visit brings into sharp relief notions of democratic tutelage and imperial kindness that underwrote the BSA's commitment to fostering friendly relations between American Boy Scouts and their foreign peers. Although fore-

grounding the capacity of boys for building a more peaceful future, the WFF reflected U.S.-centric ideas about postwar international reconstruction. Adult organizers seized upon the theme of "world friendship" to reframe American economic and military power as a conquest of children's hearts, minds, and bellies. Just a few months after BSA executives had authorized the WFF in December 1944, the program grew into a major relief operation geared toward rebuilding Scout organizations in war-ravaged countries. Material donations, mostly surplus equipment, poured in from youngsters and adults across America. By 1957, foreign Scout organizations were receiving annual contributions of roughly $30,000 from the BSA.[11] Mirroring the shifting geopolitical constellations of the 1940s and 1950s, the WFF extended the BSA's home-front service in wartime to aiding needy Scouts in Europe and East Asia who had suffered under German and Japanese occupation. As the Cold War got hotter, humanitarian slogans such as "They're Counting on Us" and "We Build by Sharing" became tinged with anticommunism and militarism.[12] For instance, one funding drive launched by BSA organizers in the wake of the Sputnik crisis asked young American Scouts to deposit money in "Inter-Continental Brotherhood Missile Envelope[s]" and send them abroad as "projectile[s] of friendship and good will."[13]

Although boys rarely grasped the complexities of postwar global realignments, picturing them as clueless pawns in the hands of scheming men would misrepresent their involvement. With remarkable idealism, young Scouts breathed life into the WFF. When the BSA unveiled its "Shirts Off Our Back" campaign in February 1946, Cub and Boy Scouts were the first to donate their old uniforms, attaching notes to them asking foreign boys to get in touch with their young benefactors.[14] Realizing that support for the WFF was lacking with their parents, the boys of Troop 1 of Mendham, New Jersey, organized a big family picnic, where the Scouts raised $155, one dollar for each boy who had been a member of the troop since its founding.[15] To boys who wanted to cultivate deeper relationships with foreign youths, international child sponsorship programs, which were blossoming after 1945, held out the option of "adopting" entire groups. Adoption initiatives multiplied as a consequence of the huge number of orphans worldwide caused by the war.[16] The Boy Scouts of Culver City, California, chose that option. They decided to become "foster fathers" to a troop of orphaned and leprosy-stricken Filipino Scouts, supplying them with clothing, medication, and a movie projector "complete with fifty feet of cowboy film."[17] Perhaps the most spectacular BSA adoption project was hatched by the Cub Scouts of Bethesda, Maryland. When the plan of these nine- to eleven-year-olds to "adopt" and feed eight destitute European boys for one year went public in February 1948, it earned them an invitation to the U.S. State Department. Secretary of State George C. Marshall praised the boys' "little Marshall plan," which he said was "of great international importance in establishing relations of friendship and good will and trust that are so important to our Government, to our people and to the world and to peace."[18]

U.S. and Japanese Boy Scouts tying knots at a binational Scout meeting at Camp Sendai, Japan, January 1952. National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

Helping children in need took on a particular meaning for American Boy Scouts who were chasing merit badges in U.S.-occupied countries. Apart from reconciling foreigners with U.S. global supremacy, their unofficial ambassadorship was to make the American military presence overseas seem less militaristic and oppressive.[19] Good turns on army bases in West Germany and Japan for local children usually peaked before the Easter and Christmas holidays, when Boy Scouts participated in donation drives spearheaded by the American Legion, the American Red Cross, and army wives' clubs. Starting in the late 1940s, Scouts and soldiers played Santa Claus in front of Japanese schoolchildren, giving away spare clothes and old toys, while their counterparts in West Berlin and Mannheim partnered with German Pfadfinder units in distributing Easter gifts to disadvantaged youngsters.[20] These forms of child-to-child generosity dovetailed nicely with the American policy to put a human face on the occupation and presented an idealized image of U.S. military communities, one that was devoid of racial conflict and tensions between the soldiers and local populations.

Transnational mobility, however, was merely one among several trails that led to world friendship, and American Scouts who never went abroad like the sons of U.S. servicemen were just as capable of imagining themselves as belonging to a global fraternity of youth. Curiosity, creativity, and a printing press were all that Jim Sanzare, a fifteen-year-old patrol leader from Philadelphia, needed

in 1945 to start the *International Panther*, a magazine dedicated to promoting amicable relations with and collecting information on Scouts in other lands. Published at varying intervals, Sanzare's magazine reached a wide audience. By the early 1950s, the *Panther* had become a household name among Scouts on both sides of the Atlantic. Meanwhile, Sanzare declared with the posture of an idealist that he had been paying all publication costs out of his own pocket.[21]

Portraying children as unburdened by the faults and follies of their elders, policy makers saw in youth diplomacy a promising venture to mend cross-border ties ruptured by war. Boy Scouts were depicted as heralds of reconciliation whose smiles could warm the hearts of former adversaries. The affective power of boys to remake enemies into brothers was on full display at the national and world jamborees of the late 1940s and early 1950s. At the international Scout gathering at Moisson, France, in 1947, a group of French Scouts invited seventeen German boys to stay with them in defiance of adult regulations. Asked to explain themselves, the Scouts said they were acting "in the name of Scout brotherhood and no more war."[22] Four years later, a group of American boys en route to the world jamboree in Austria surprised the mayor of Naples with a miniature Statue of Liberty as a token of U.S. amity toward Italy.[23] The Boy Scouts of Hawaii, who "adopted" the Boy Scouts of Japan only seven years after Pearl Harbor, demonstrated in similar fashion that friendship had to entail forgiveness.[24] The Scouts assembling at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1950 made the same point. Two years before the United States and Japan reestablished diplomatic relations, Boy Scouts from both countries clasped hands across the chasms of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was at Valley Forge—in appreciation of Japan's youth returning to the family of free nations—that the Japanese flag was hoisted on U.S. soil for the first time after the war.[25]

What, now, are the discursive and political linkages between the American boys' reconciliatory transnationalism and the empire from which it sprang? Historian Mimi Thi Nguyen has an answer. Rather than seeing in liberal empire a contradiction in terms, Nguyen identified the promise of liberating countries from benighted forms of government as the "core proposition" of modern American empire. The "gift of freedom," according to Nguyen, came with a debt—the debt of gratitude and the tacit assumption that the liberated were obliged to endure unequal power relations and the empire's prerogative to resort to violence when it saw fit.[26] Nguyen's reading of U.S. empire makes it possible to recognize in Scout performances of world friendship not simply a ploy for the ambitions of the Western superpower, a scenario in which confusing the heartfelt wish of boys to help their distant "brothers" with imperial geopolitics would have left people astonished and possibly irate. More significantly, the BSA's global footprints reveal just how much the alleged irreproachability of U.S. foreign policy benefited from the image of good-hearted boys projecting the Scout values of kindness, courtesy, and friendship onto the international arena. The BSA's donor relationships cannot be divorced from the imperial power structures that

supported them. Even if the boys were not aware of it, their transactions undergirded the gradations of masculine leadership and national sovereignty within the "free world," in which the liberty of others was depicted as contingent upon the willingness of U.S. boys and men to dispense it.

A brief foray into the BSA's visual representations of world brotherhood after 1945 captures these asymmetries. One popular advertisement from the first years of the WFF features an American Boy Scout sitting on top of the globe and pulling a foreign Scout in a ragtag uniform out of the abyss. If the American boy let go, the war-ravaged youth would be irreversibly doomed, so what appears to be an act of heroic kindness actually cements a hierarchical relationship in which foreign Scouts assume the role of the weaker, dependent brother and U.S. boys act as junior leaders of the free world.[27] American Boy Scouts are also at the center of Norman Rockwell's allegorical depictions of cross-border fraternizations at the world jamborees. Rockwell, whom one scholar called the "premier illustrator of American boyhood," composed his best-known jamboree illustration on the occasion of the 1967 world jamboree at Farragut State Park, Idaho.[28] *Breakthrough for Freedom* was painted at the height of the Vietnam War. Six Scouts, with determined looks on their faces, march past an ensemble of flags toward a common goal in the distance. Both the American boy and the Stars and Stripes dominate the picture's visual hierarchy, while a Vietnamese Scout occupies the center of this international phalanx, flanked by representatives from Syria and Great Britain. With the BSA delegate in the foreground, the destiny of Vietnamese youth, though decimated by war, is symbolically linked to the willingness of the free world to back U.S. Cold War policies. Against the dual backdrops of the Vietnam War and the 1967 world jamboree in Idaho—the first on U.S. soil—Rockwell legitimized the imperial aspirations of his country while at the same time hiding them behind the visual ruse of boyhood camaraderie.[29]

Brothers and Others

In addition to juvenilizing the fantasy of a Pax Americana, Rockwell's paintings gave expression to a vision of boyhood that was regenerative and redemptive but also hierarchical and exclusive. Although invocations of world friendship in an institution like the BSA should not be dismissed as mere platitudes or the rhetorical posturing of a few leaders, there are reasons to be skeptical about the substance of pledges made by organizations and their members to practice democratic values both domestically and internationally. Appreciating diversity in the abstract does not have to involve a dedication to leveling difference, and talking about friendship and brotherhood in the absence of another crucial democratic idiom, equality, can lend itself to stabilizing social hierarchies rather than subverting them. Friendship, in other words, did not require U.S. Scouts to weave into their web of relationships youths who stood outside their definition of homosociality. Neither did it entail treating all other Scouts as equals.

Most strikingly, the BSA's orbit of world friendship did not include females in any active capacity, even as girl organizations sought to foster in young females a feeling of responsibility for developments beyond home and nation. Much like their boy counterparts, the Camp Fire Girls of America and the Girl Scouts of America (GSA) left an imprint on the terrain of Cold War internationalism, building bridges to their sister Scouts across the oceans.[30] However, the fact that female versions of world friendship barely overlapped with BSA invocations of brotherhood hints at the contested semantics of the term "friendship" itself. Boy Scout friendship, by referring specifically to homosocial ties between boys and men, was already a gendered and thus exclusionary concept. With their attempts to balance patriotism and internationalism, the GSA ran into trouble in 1954, when conservative men protested that the revised Girl Scout handbook spouted "UN and world government propaganda" instead of teaching time-honored American values.[31] Caving to the pressure, GSA leaders announced that they would edit controversial phrases even as they dismissed the criticism as ludicrous. World friendship, as this episode suggests, could be understood as either productive or subversive. Males might be able to operate it, but in the hands of females, who were portrayed as emotionally more susceptible to a utopian internationalism, the promotion of cross-border relationships seemed, as one journalist put it, "a dangerous idea."[32]

As the fear of communism increased in the United States, so did the tendency to declare free-world and socialist constructions of friendship diametrically opposed to one another. The common vocabulary uttered at the world jamborees and the major international youth gatherings of the Eastern bloc, the World Youth Festivals, irked Scout organizers on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Numerically, the World Youth Festivals were more than a match for the postwar jamborees. To surpass the limitations of bourgeois male homosociality, socialist organizers opened their gatherings to boys and girls, white and nonwhite youth. In the 1950s and 1960s, the festivals drew a rough average of twenty to thirty thousand delegates of both sexes, with the largest meeting in Moscow in 1957 counting thirty-four thousand young participants. Demographically, the festivals evolved from strictly socialist rallies into global events that included a broad array of self-proclaimed anti-imperialist youth groups. Soviet-style Komsomol deputies, Latin American revolutionaries, African nationalists, and Western student radicals and civil rights activists all flocked to the same meeting grounds.[33] Vying for resources, public attention, and the hearts and minds of young people, the world jamborees and their counterparts on the left illustrate how youth gradually morphed from a locus of human reconciliation to a major Cold War battleground.

The BSA's version of anticommunism drew on theories of totalitarianism that did not distinguish between Nazi crimes against children and the supposed communist assault on the family. A poster with the caption "Scouting Makes for Freedom," published in July 1956, reflects this outlook. It shows a rising sun in the shape of the fleur-de-lis emblem shining its light on a smiling Boy Scout who

has cast off the shackles of Italian fascism, German Nazism, and Soviet communism.[34] Growing up in a free world led by a strong United States was paired with happiness and security, whereas young people's lives in the communist world were paired with misery and desolation. That Scouting had been prohibited in fascist and communist countries and replaced with uniformed youth organizations run by the state lent credence to this narrative. Stories of boy refugees from Eastern Europe seeking asylum in the United States nourished the myth that the BSA provided a haven for freedom-loving youths the world over. In the wake of the 1956 Hungarian uprising, American boys learned about two Hungarian Scouts who had risked their lives defying the country's communist regime and its ban on Scouting. Upon arriving in America, the young exiles reportedly "wept shamelessly with joy" at the kindness shown by their hosts. More than passive consumers, U.S. Boy Scouts figured in these accounts as selfless anticommunist activists who made such escapes to freedom possible. One widely reported incident involved two Kansas Scouts, Glenn Burr and Charles Burch, helping their Czechoslovakian jamboree acquaintance, Richard "Dick" Hrdlicka, whom they had met in France in 1947, to flee his homeland. Over the course of three years, Glenn and Charles mobilized their Scouting connections to get Dick a scholarship at the University of Kansas and raise the money to pay for his airfare to the United States.[35]

The preponderance of white boys in juvenile narratives about the Cold War designates race as a major organizing principle in BSA constructions of world friendship. It is telling that the organization framed its giver-recipient relationships—with American boys embodying freedom and foreign youths receiving it—around wars at the imperial periphery, particularly in Korea and Vietnam, and not around civil rights or decolonization. Boys qualified by WFF administrators as worthy of being rescued were cast in Caucasian features, presumably to cater to white middle-class sensibilities, even if they hailed from parts of the world where whites were in the minority.[36] As the African American civil rights movement was making headlines around the world, BSA propagandists began visualizing nonwhite Scouts more frequently, in part to join a national effort to deflect international criticism of U.S. race relations. Scouts of color nonetheless remained unpopular subjects, much like the African American youths whose presence in the BSA, which allowed racially segregated troops until the early 1970s, was grudgingly tolerated. In the few instances where domestic or foreign Scouts of color became targets of imperial benevolence, the expectation was that these youths would repay white gestures of friendship with unconditional allegiance to their benefactors. To help others, one Scout executive stated in 1947, white boys would not have to travel far; they could simply wander about their communities and "find Scouts . . . with other racial and cultural backgrounds."[37] Putting African American and Native American Scouts in the same box with destitute foreign youths meant treating them not as fellow Americans but as if they belonged to another country. One sixteen-year-old white teenager was quicker to grasp this discrepancy than many of his elders. "We keep doing

Scoutmaster Homer Meade and his young companions pose with souvenirs from their trip to Nigeria, January 1965. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Prints and Photographs Collection.

things for [disadvantaged youths] and feeling terribly noble about it," he told *Scouting* magazine in November 1968. "But we would never ask any of our underprivileged, different-colored classmates to be part of our social activities. We don't feel comfortable doing things *with* them yet—only *for* them."[38]

While white Scouts were grappling with a changing racial landscape, African American chapters of the BSA found a way to simultaneously maintain their identities as Scouts and identify with antiracist and anticolonial movements. During the Freedom Rides, black Boy Scouts in Detroit knocked on countless doors to raise money for civil rights activities.[39] Internationally, a small group of Scouts led by the African American Scoutmaster Homer Meade discovered world friendship at a place most white Scouts would have shunned. In December 1964, Meade and six members of his multiracial Scout troop boarded a plane to Nigeria's capital, Lagos, where more than three thousand Scouts from twenty-four countries were convening for the Nigerian Jubilee Jamboree. At a time when African nations were moving toward independence and African Americans were pushing the civil rights agenda, the Nigerian jamboree opened

up an alternative space for transnational youth fraternization, making it possible for U.S. boys to perform with sub-Saharan youths the same brotherly rituals that had come to define the white world of Scouting. Almost every activity at the encampment filled the African American delegate Thomas Welch "with an appreciation of world brotherhood . . . in its grandest sense." It even made him envision an alliance between a youthful America rife with democratic opportunity and budding African nation-states seeking to cast off the shackles of European colonialism—a sentiment few whites echoed at the time.[40]

No Innocents Abroad

The fact that the youths representing America in distant lands did not always behave like model teenagers generated further cracks in the façade of world brotherhood. Hudson "Bill" Phillips, who moved to Stuttgart in 1951 with his father, an army chaplain, had a couple of stories to share that punctuated the innocents-abroad narrative cherished by BSA leaders and military authorities. One embarrassing incident that Phillips remembered as an adult involved American Boy Scouts from West Berlin who had been caught throwing cherry bombs out of a train window as they were riding through East Germany. The juvenile prank so exasperated military officials that they reprimanded the boys and had them fill out affidavits of explanation. Phillips also recalled a more serious misdeed that took place at an international Boy Scout meeting in Scotland in 1953. Where previous generations of American boys had put on airs of superiority by showing that they were materially better off than youths born elsewhere, members of the 1953 delegation made a mockery of the national sensibilities of their German peers: they almost caused a brawl by hoisting the Texas state flag above the West German national flag. More often than not, according to Phillips, American Boy Scouts felt much more comfortable "stick[ing] with other Americans," and "to step out of this peer group was still a very bold move."[41]

Disconcerted by incoming reports of juvenile misbehavior, BSA authorities responded with an information campaign that sought to bind American Boy Scouts traveling or living abroad to certain codes of conduct. A widely distributed piece of prescriptive literature created for this purpose was the pamphlet *Travel Tips for Scouts,* circulated by the BSA's International Relationships Service in 1959. The pamphlet began by telling the young globetrotter that foreigners tend to "have a distorted image of the U.S.A. . . . You can help correct this, and do a great service to your country, by carefully preparing yourself to be a good ambassador for the B.S.A., and the U.S.A.!" Taking on this ambassadorial responsibility meant internalizing the belief that the United States stood for peace, national self-determination, international cooperation, and giving "enlightened assistance" to underdeveloped countries. The second half of the pamphlet used a series of caricatures to impress on the youngsters how not to behave abroad. They should not be the "Breast-Beating Know-It-All," who acts as

if he "knows more about the country he's visiting than his hosts do"; the "Impolite Boor," who "doesn't care about the customs of other people"; or the "Gaudy-Plumed Spendthrift," who "tries to cover up his own inferiority with money" and "could write a book on 'How to Lose Friends and Make People Hate Us.'"[42] Clearly, as much as adult organizers believed that children and teenagers were instinctive internationalists whose presumed genuineness was seen as a diplomatic asset, they also worried about how boys who failed to live up to these expectations might tarnish America's reputation in the world. Judging by Phillips's recollections, however, their interventions seemed to have little effect, and especially older Scouts resented that their elders wished to control their every move. "We should have been treated more like men and equals than as little kids," criticized seventeen-year-old Scout Jerry Solberg after returning from a trip to East Asia.[43]

The same contradictions between the normative directives of adults and the erratic behavior of youth that made boy-to-boy diplomacy in Europe an ambiguous affair also surfaced in the Far East. Daniel Cheung, a descendant of Korean immigrants who joined BSA Troop 80 in South Korea while his father was stationed there, was particularly perceptive about what he described as the "cultural ignorance" of his fellow Americans, admitting that their "lack of sensitivity to host country norms and customs" had made him cringe. Cheung remembered well how some of his friends were "fooling around" as they were standing on old tombs, not realizing that these were the graves of revered ancestors. To the dismay of their Korean associates, American Boy Scouts also liked to climb and sit on Buddha statues, which were sacred symbols to the local population.[44] Good relations were further hindered by the inability of sojourning Scouts to deal politely with the divergent realities of American abundance and East Asian scarcity. When visiting Japan or the Philippines, several world jamboree delegates complained about the food they were supposed to eat or nagged about the crude accommodations on the ground.[45] Even where mischief was absent, these examples indicate that U.S. Boy Scouts' explorations of the Far East were more likely to reproduce than to transcend Orientalist stereotypes that portrayed Asian societies as exotic and backward.

At a time of growing international resentment of American power, the BSA was not spared the kind of intense criticism leveled against U.S. foreign policy at large. When the student protests in North America and Western Europe over the actions of the U.S. military in Vietnam were gaining momentum, the BSA came under attack from factions of the West German Scout federations that were openly siding with the New Left. These socialist Pfadfinder did not shy away from controversy, and their agitation against what they viewed as an unholy alliance between organized youth and Anglo-American aims for world domination culminated in the tract *Weltpfadfindertum und Imperialismus* (World Scouting and imperialism), which was published in 1973. Clothed in the neo-Marxist jargon of the student movement, the arguments put forward by the author aimed at prompting all Pfadfinder to sever their ties to the BSA,

which the author accused of being a "fig leaf" for the "neocolonial policies" of the United States. The BSA's world friendship initiatives, the author contended, were modern-day tools of imperial penetration, disguising the fact that the foreign aid projects conducted by American Boy Scouts served to "perpetuate the economic exploitation" of poorer nations.[46]

To shed light on the racist, gendered, and U.S.-centric foundations of world friendship is not to deny that individual Scouts cared sincerely about their distant peers. The BSA's world friendship campaigns thrived less on anticommunist ideology than on their simultaneous ability to appeal to young people's desire for meaningful participation in public affairs, as well as to satisfy their eagerness to outgrow the confines of family, school, and church. Yet the same boys who were working to improve the lot of children stuck in less fortunate circumstances were hardly in a position to anticipate all the consequences of their actions. The WFF was neither a transnational nexus nor a Cold War weapon but both. Precisely because childhood and friendship were universal categories, they were perfectly capable of obscuring the divisions of race, gender, and ideology that managed the internal and external relations of free-world empire. After the Iron Curtain became all but impenetrable, showering kindness on others was more than ever predicated upon anticommunism and the self-assigned responsibility to nurture and protect fledgling democracies everywhere. That America dispatched its Boy Scouts, with their friendly handshakes and infectious smiles, alongside calculating statesmen and combat-ready generals to bestow freedom on others helped solidify a gentle, almost irresistibly benign story of U.S. global ascendancy. The WFF's proposition that the happiness of foreign youths depended on material and moral contributions from America's Boy Scouts shored up the discourse of a free world unable to prosper without U.S. guardianship. Boys who thought of themselves as little liberators could gain a sense of maturity prior to reaching manhood. Men, on the other hand, were looking for ways to reconnect to the moral certitude of boyhood, which promised liberation from insecurity and drowned out doubts about their ability to impose order on a restless world.

As popular as the belief might have been that the BSA was sending out its boys to deliver the planet from chaos, it left them poorly equipped to understand the repercussions and limits of U.S. power in an interdependent world. The juvenilization of friendship made it harder to realize that other nations were not inhabited by young people living for no reason other than to stand in as grateful subjects of a liberal empire that regarded noncompliance with its ways as inadequate and insecure. Vietnam, which signaled the loss of American innocence to youths the world over, is a case in point. In light of the horrific casualties resulting from the military strategy devised by General William Westmoreland, a former Eagle Scout and world jamboree delegate, the façade of youthful idealism began to crumble, revealing reckless naïveté instead.[47] In the attempt "to remake Vietnamese society . . . we are still acting like Boy Scouts, dragging old ladies across streets they do not want to cross," marveled Senator J. William

Fulbright in his 1966 book *The Arrogance of Power*.[48] If the senator from Arkansas, who was no stranger to the field of international youth exchange, was wondering whether the Boy Scout virtues of honor, duty, and service had become mere smokescreens for the country's headlong interventionism in Indochina, so did an increasing number of youths who were coming of age at a time of antiauthoritarian protest. By the 1970s, with the allure of anticommunism fading and the BSA's membership plummeting, America's major boy organization had begun a downward spiral from which it never fully recovered.

NOTES

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Science Fairs as National Security

ADOLESCENT CULTURE IN POSTWAR AMERICA, 1950–1965

SARAH SCRIPPS

At the 1962 Seattle World's Fair, 387 finalists of the National Science Fair—International presented their projects in the display hall. The displays by American high school students typified the "Century 21" theme of the World's Fair, which focused squarely on a future ruled by reason and innovation. President John F. Kennedy declared, "I am honored to open the Seattle World's Fair today. What we show is achieved with great effort in the fields of science, technology, and industry. This exemplifies the spirit of peace and cooperation with which we approach the decades ahead."[1] Kennedy's opening speech endorsed science, technology, and industry as the vehicles that could usher in an era of international peace and prosperity. But the realities of the post-Sputnik world proved more volatile than the president let on. Rather than ushering in peace, science served as a battleground that carried high geopolitical stakes. Historians such as Penny M. Von Eschen, Naima Prevots, and Richard T. Arndt have demonstrated how the Cold War was as much an ideological and cultural battle as it was a political one.[2] In presenting adolescent intellectual acumen as a Cold War weapon, science fairs demonstrate the centrality of youth to both anxieties about civil defense and celebrations of American ingenuity.

Indeed, although fairs promoted science as a popular amusement, they also served as forums where the goals of ensuring national security and cultivating future scientists converged. These competitions represented a growing extracurricular movement sweeping both the nation and the world. Though science fairs operated as a uniquely American phenomenon prior to World War II, by the early 1960s science fairs reached beyond the nation's borders. In the decades that followed, the competitions put in place a standard for youth scientific engagement emulated across the world. The United States demonstrated its scientific authority through the talents of American youth, and in the process, the underlying values of extracurricular science such as creativity, problem solving, and commercial applicability aligned with national security interests.

U.S. public officials identified the goal of creating talented leaders adept at science as a matter of national importance well before Sputnik's orbit in 1957.[3] As "innocent weapons," children served as a rationale for protecting democracy and building consensus during the Cold War.[4] Though historians have rightly characterized the passage of the 1958 National Defense Education Act as an educational milestone for increasing science rigor and funding in public schools, science fairs demonstrate that within the realm of popular science learning, this push came much earlier. The obsession over children's intellectual development addressed both symbolic and pragmatic concerns. Not only did preoccupations of childhood encapsulate American hopes for a peaceful future filled with international cooperation, but children themselves also required grooming to become part of an educated workforce. Science fairs, then, embodied a tension often inherent in the discourse of civil defense: even as adolescents were heralded as promoters of peace and prosperity, they were called upon to serve as future employees of the military-industrial complex. The tensions between peace and warfare, hope and uncertainty, and education and civil defense meant that the science fair movement could accommodate the myriad interests of a nation expanding its global influence.

Science fairs encouraged American adolescents to learn science through both curricular and extracurricular means, although the degree and manner of their participation differed across gender, class, regional, and racial lines. Science fair organizers invited all children to join the science fair movement, but white adolescent boys remained disproportionately represented, compared with their peers. As a result, extracurricular science remained a predominantly masculine domain, reflecting the broader demographic makeup of the professional scientific community.

In a 1946 address to the Central Association of Science and Mathematics Teachers, science fair cofounder Watson Davis declared, "There must be thousands of boys and girls being given the opportunity of becoming tomorrow's scientists, capable of doing the fruitful scientific research upon which tomorrow's progress will be based. We must be confident that there will be a scientific way to prevent atomic wars of the future which will negate progress."[5] Davis classified America's youth as the nation's most powerful defense of democracy in the volatile postwar world. But as Paula Fass notes, "Children are tricky instruments of policy."[6] Because adolescents are guided by their own ambitions and desires, their participation did not always neatly align with their prescribed roles as young diplomats. Indeed, students possessed a variety of underlying motives for their participation, ranging from making friends to getting into college. At the same time, most participants were acutely aware of the stakes involved in engaging in the scientific enterprise. Student science fair projects frequently addressed American commercial, medical, and even military interests. These students served as informal ambassadors to convey a sense of American scientific dominance under the guise of a peaceful pastime.

This essay chronicles the development of the National Science Fair (NSF) by the Science Service, a nonprofit news agency responsible for organizing extracurricular science programs. Initially established in 1950, the NSF quickly positioned itself as a model of adolescent scientific engagement that spread internationally. In training the next generation of scientists and engineers, the NSF cemented norms and practices that would set a standard for science fairs in the decades that followed. This standardization set the precedent for science fairs to serve not only as exemplars of student ingenuity but also as part of a broader campaign to link extracurricular science to the aims of civil defense. In the process, students began to view themselves as serious practitioners who both benefited from and contributed to the broader scientific community. The science fair movement may have spread with the intent of fostering international cooperation while supporting the goals of civil defense, but participants themselves embraced this opportunity to shape their own futures.

The chapter begins by tracing the advent of the NSF from its grassroots origins to a national phenomenon, demonstrating how science fairs encouraged local community involvement to support students' scientific pursuits. As the Science Service provided a platform for students to compete at the national level, it also exerted control over the content and composition of science fairs. The chapter then provides a detailed overview of the 136 projects featured at the 1955 NSF. By focusing on a single year of participants, this section offers insight into students' backgrounds, the inspiration for their work, and how they conveyed scientific evidence through their displays. It evaluates how the virtues of scientific analysis were engrained in students' work while also illustrating how their participation in science fairs affected their future college and career choices. The chapter concludes by evaluating the spread of science fairs across the globe. Just as the creation of the NSF established a domestic standard, the international movement conveyed a specific vision of youth science that served American interests abroad. As students embarked on their roles as citizen scientists, science fairs served as a form of cultural diplomacy that shaped perceptions of American scientific dominance worldwide.

From Local Engagement to a National Standard: Origins of the National Science Fair

The first science fairs in the United States were local and regional affairs. The American Institute of the City of New York, a scientific learned society, sponsored the first science fair in New York City in 1928. These early programs attracted both boys and girls, the majority of whom were first- and second-generation immigrants. The pedagogical origins of the first science fairs stemmed directly from the nature study tradition. As Sally Gregory Kohlstedt has demonstrated, the nature study movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries advocated personal experiences with the natural world

through careful scientific observation. Its advocates actively organized a national campaign to revise school curricula in order to incorporate student encounters with nature.[7] In this regard, nature study overlapped with broader efforts by progressive educational reformers such as John Dewey to encourage hands-on, experimental, scientifically based forms of inquiry in order to train the next generation of democratic citizens.[8] By the late 1930s, science fairs had achieved a national following.

The science competitions of the 1940s and 1950s operated in a sociopolitical landscape that was different from that of their Depression-era predecessors. Americans began reevaluating the role of science in society after witnessing the devastation of a global cataclysm. World War II was a watershed not just in terms of the scale of death and destruction but also in the mobilization of science for the war effort. The union of science and national security spurred new projections for the role science should play in the polity. The advent of "big science"—the vast increase in the cost, scale, and complexity of scientific ventures—led to large-scale organizational structures spanning industry, government, and academia.[9] The growth of the scientific establishment stoked anxieties about the sort of workforce that would be needed to maintain American intellectual and technological superiority. The turn toward big science also meant that a confluence of special interests—scientists, educators, governmental organizations, and industry—sought to shape science education.[10] In the process, extracurricular science was less an expressive outlet of free play and more a mechanism of socialization that prepared students for the postwar world. Considering that earlier programs focused on the progressive aims of cultivating proper habits of thought and civic education, what form would science fairs take to meet the new realities of the postwar world?

Ultimately, it would be a news organization that would address these new challenges. Founded in 1920 by journalism mogul E. W. Scripps, the Science Service (currently called the Society for Science and the Public) was a nonprofit news agency dedicated to improving public understanding of science. Perhaps inspired by his own upbringing working on his parents' farm in Illinois, Scripps valued an apprenticeship model of learning that promoted sustained interaction with the natural world.[11] Like his progressive contemporaries at the American Institute, Scripps believed that scientific innovation was inspired not merely through classroom learning but through active participation in scientific activities. Though not formally trained as a scientist, Scripps viewed scientific principles as the foundation of a successful democracy. He believed that making science both accessible and comprehensible to the public would ultimately lead to a more informed, rational citizenry.[12] His views complemented the educational vision of reformers like John Dewey, which prized process-oriented, inquiry-based learning and called for a restructuring of school curricula to allow students to cultivate their full potential.[13] Scripps argued that children and adults alike should develop experimental, scientifically based forms of inquiry

to perform their social responsibilities as citizens in a participatory democracy. At the heart of his educational framework was a belief in learning by doing, that is, allowing students to build their education based on lived experience.[14]

When journalist Watson Davis assumed directorship of the Science Service in 1933, he continued to uphold this educational vision. By the early 1940s, Davis was devoting much of his attention to youth-oriented initiatives. In 1941 he established the Science Clubs of America, one of the first national networks of youth science clubs. When the American Institute faced financial difficulties brought on by the Great Depression, G. Edward Pendray, a member of the American Institute and an executive at Westinghouse, pressed the company to provide funds to support the institute's science competitions during the late 1930s. Soon after, Davis teamed up with Westinghouse to take over stewardship of the institute's national network of youth science clubs. The Science Service and Westinghouse also established the Science Talent Search in 1942, selecting forty American high school seniors who showed aptitude in science or engineering to compete for scholarship money in Washington, D.C.[15] By the time it held its first national fair in 1950, the Science Service had established itself as one of the leading advocates of science programs targeting adolescents in the United States.

Although the Science Service began holding science fairs at the national level during the 1950s, at first fairs remained heavily local, grassroots efforts. Newspapers served as typical sponsors by devoting sections for advertising the fairs and financially supporting student travel to the national fair. Likewise, institutions of higher education, local businesses, civic organizations, and science societies often helped organize the fairs by providing judges, space, and financial support. The general public showed its support by attending the expositions. One city reported that 16 percent of its local population attended, and another fair boasted thirty thousand visitors.[16] Participation spanned all regions of the United States and included both urban and rural schools. Students relied on the financial support of local organizations to sponsor their trips to the national fair. Science fairs brought community groups together and in turn fostered public support of science at the local level.

Science Service officials recognized the potential of local competitions in supporting extracurricular science. Science fairs built upon the familiar American pastime of county fairs by fostering local pride and a sense of community. Claiming that the NSF was "aimed at encouraging interest in science at the grassroots level," the Science Service capitalized on preexisting community efforts by affiliating the NSF with its Science Clubs of America program.[17] This partnership proved mutually beneficial. In 1948 there were approximately fifteen thousand clubs affiliated with the Science Clubs of America; one decade later, the number had expanded to twenty-five thousand. National fairs continued to grow: 110 regional competitions featuring over thirty thousand student projects participated in the NSF.[18] Likewise, local fairs underwent a major boom

in popularity. The Lehigh Valley Science Fair in Allentown, Pennsylvania, for instance, expanded from 14 projects in 1947 to 822 projects in 1958.[19] The fairs provided the Science Service with a direct connection to local community organizations and audiences, allowing the national agency to wield greater control over the form and direction community fairs would take.

The Science Service exerted its authority over the science fair movement by providing a national platform to attract students from across the United States. The first NSF was held from May 19 to 21, 1950, at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. It featured thirty finalists from thirteen fairs across the country. Student exhibitors spent three days meeting with world-famous scientists, visiting local laboratories and research centers, and forming friendships. Finalists listened to Nobel Prize–winning physicist Dr. Robert A. Millikin as he challenged them to use science "so to understand the world that there may be peace and plenty for all peoples."[20] In 1953 the Science Service hosted the NSF in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. The selection of the militarized site of Oak Ridge further solidified the entanglement between science fairs and civil defense. It reflected the science fair movement's contradictory aims, promoting peace while reinforcing the omnipotence of the military-industrial complex. Students attending the 1953 fair visited military installations across the city, took tours of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, and presented their projects at the American Museum of Atomic Energy.[21] From its inception, the national fair introduced students to the professional scientific community while also establishing a set of values that aligned with broader national interests in civil defense and scientific training.

When the Soviet Union launched Sputnik 1 in 1957, it galvanized not only formal science education but also the science fair movement. John L. Rudolph has demonstrated that within classroom education, scientists worked in coordination with the National Science Foundation and other governmental agencies to revise secondary pedagogy in order to suit the new intellectual landscape of big science.[22] The National Defense Education Act of 1958, passed in response to Sputnik, provided financial backing for these reforms by offering financial assistance to states to improve instruction in mathematics, science, and other areas deemed important to national security.[23] Within the realm of science fairs, the impact proved equally significant. Rather than scientists spearheading reform, however, the Science Service responded to the call to spread the gospel of American science both at home and abroad. "America must increase the flow of its talented youth into the fields of mathematics, physical and other sciences and engineering so necessary to our future," Watson Davis wrote. "The science club and the science fair are prime devices for doing this."[24] Students across the nation heeded his call. In 1957 around 250,000 students participated in local and national fairs; by 1962 the number had quadrupled to approximately one million participants.[25] In 1958 the NSF welcomed international students to participate for the first time. Two Japanese representatives from the Second Japan Student Science Awards traveled to the United States to compete in the Ninth National

Science Fair in Flint, Michigan. Japanese officials subsequently started their own competition, modeled after those of the Science Service. Japan's early participation in American science fairs not only was based upon Japanese interest in American science education but also more broadly reflected a new era of international cooperation between the two nations.[26]

Domestically, governmental agencies began offering programmatic support and financial incentives to science fair participants. The U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force, NASA, and the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), as well as professional organizations such as the American Medical Association, American Heart Association, and Optical Society of America, offered special awards and excursions to students working in areas related to their respective fields. Other agencies and companies, such as the National Bureau of Standards, Westinghouse Research Laboratories, American Chemical Corps, and the U.S. Weather Bureau, implemented summer employment programs for "student scientists" to develop a scientific workforce.[27] These programs aimed at honing students' skills in order to prepare them for careers in science and industry that could support civil defense and other national interests.

The Science Service established the NSF at a moment when science education was often in the news. Science fairs offered pithy headlines of young geniuses that captured readers' attention, capitalizing on national concerns over whether students were adequately trained in science education. The Science Service produced numerous periodicals for public consumption, including the weekly magazine *Science News-Letter*, the radio show *Adventures in Science*, hands-on kits and experiments via the journal *Things of Science*, and the monthly journal *Chemistry*. It targeted teachers, students, and scientific laymen as its primary intended audience and therefore had a vested interest in producing enticing educationally focused content and building relationships with educators. Through promoting scientific play and exploration, the Science Service viewed its mission as teaching students not only how to become scientists and engineers but also how to serve as dutiful citizens. By playing on adult anxieties regarding the security of the nation, the Science Service offered comforting stories about the promise of American youth in achieving intellectual dominance. In this regard, the Science Service not only published news stories but also presented a worldview expressing an inherent faith in scientific advancements—and in the potential of American youth.[28]

As extracurricular scientific engagement garnered additional adult support, it also carried higher stakes. The rules and regulations for science fairs changed accordingly, with restrictions increasingly determining the size, structure, and content of student displays. These higher stakes also shaped who was targeted as a potential future scientist. Although boys had long been considered the superior sex in scientific pursuits, the disappearance of nature study and its replacement by physics and vocational skills in school curricula further isolated girls, despite the Science Service's active attempts to recruit young women.

Likewise, ethnic and racial minorities (with the notable exceptions of first- and second-generation immigrants and students of Jewish descent) remained vastly underrepresented in Science Service programs. Even as the country called for a greater number of scientists and engineers, the assumed face of these professionals remained markedly limited.

The affiliation with grassroots science campaigns meant that the early fairs were in flux between local traditions and an emerging national adolescent scientific culture that would eventually dominate the expositions. The Science Service afforded a certain amount of flexibility to local fairs. It offered advice on logistics but ultimately left the planning and funding to local authorities.[29] Each affiliated competition was entitled to send two finalists, typically one boy and one girl. At the national level, boys and girls would be evaluated separately to allow for both male and female prize winners. Local fair officials were responsible for sponsoring the winners' trip to the national competition and often relied on local news agencies for financial support.

The categories for judging remained consistent throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, setting an analytic standard. The scoring system prized ingenuity, problem solving, and systematic experimentation. Out of one hundred points, creative ability counted for thirty points. Judges evaluated how much the project "appears to show originality in approach or handling." Scientific thought also counted for thirty points, and judges were asked to consider, "Does the exhibit disclose organized procedures? Is there a planned system, classification, accurate observation, controlled experiment?"[30] Aesthetic qualities mattered less than expressing a clear purpose. Judging criteria prioritized argumentation and creativity over aesthetic value or compelling storytelling.

The judges' emphasis on ingenuity aligned with a broader national obsession with cultivating creativity. As Amy Ogata has demonstrated, efforts to promote children's creativity in postwar America were manifested not just in formal education but also in the more private realms of toys, hobbies, and even domestic spaces.[31] In the arena of science fairs, creativity was defined in terms of problem solving and reflected in the suggestions for assembling exhibit displays. "Begin with a problem," advised Dr. John R. Dunning, dean of Columbia University's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences. "If it is to be fruitful, it must remain in contact with the real world."[32] These guidelines underscored the critical role of science in supporting American intellectual authority and the centrality of children in maintaining national competitiveness.

Although the science fair movement began as a localized activity, the establishment of the NSF had quickly set a national standard by the end of the 1950s. By dictating rules and regulations, modes of display, judging criteria, and disciplinary categories, the Science Service determined the form and content of students' work. In the process, science fairs put forth a worldview that adolescents not only were capable of great achievements but also bore responsibility for ensuring the progress of the country.

Negotiating Expertise: Student Projects at the 1955 National Science Fair

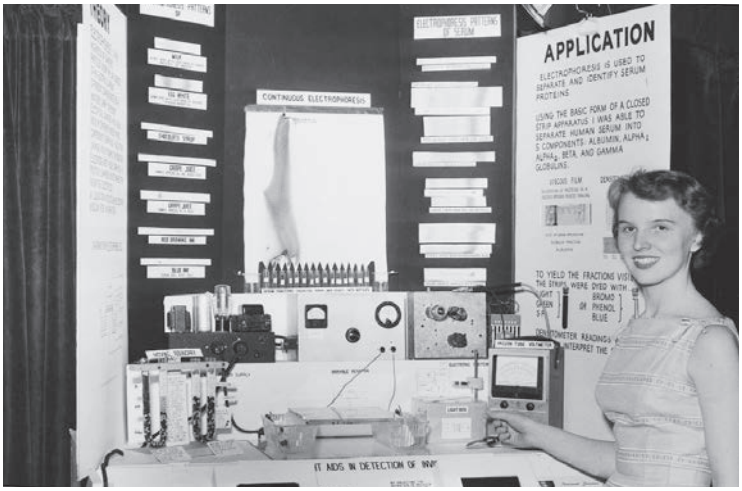
On May 12, 1955, 136 boys and girls descended on Cleveland, Ohio, to participate in the Sixth National Science Fair. The students served as the top winners from more than sixty-five local and regional fairs across the country. They spent three days sightseeing and learning about each other's research while competing for more than forty awards worth over $2,000. Just two years before Sputnik, these students engaged in a booming nationwide movement. During the 1955–56 academic year, more than 1.5 million people attended science fairs across the country to view approximately 187,000 exhibits. Science fairs were an opportunity for students to display their scientific acumen to their local communities while competing for national recognition. The following section focuses on the participants of the 1955 national fair to capture the ways students envisioned their own position in the scientific enterprise. By focusing on a single year of science fair participants, it demonstrates how students' inspiration for their work, socioeconomic backgrounds, career aspirations, modes of display, and project design conveyed their own vision for the future of science in the postwar world. At a time when civil defense dominated science education, students joined science fairs not only to gain scientific expertise but also to understand the complicated geopolitical Cold War landscape.

When compared to the Science Service's famed Science Talent Search, which selected only forty high school seniors, the NSF showed greater diversity in terms of students' geographic backgrounds, gender, and race. Local authorities' control over choosing the top finalists in their region contributed to more diverse student representation at the national level.[33] In 1955 twenty-six students were in tenth grade, thirty-four students were in eleventh grade, and seventy-six students were in twelfth grade. Participants' ages ranged from fourteen to twenty, with most students between fifteen and eighteen years of age. Although New York dominated the Science Talent Search every year, there were no students from New York represented at the 1955 fair.[34] Instead, the three states with the highest representation at the NSF were Indiana, California, and Tennessee, reflecting the overall geographic diversity of the competition. Female students were also better represented at the 1955 fair: 35 percent of participants were young women, compared to the 20–25 percent ratio typical of most Science Talent Search cohorts. During the 1955 fair, approximately three students were African American. Although still underrepresented commensurate with their proportion of the total student population, this number was still higher than the Science Talent Search, which had only two African American participants during the first two decades of competition. At the NSF, numerous students reported that their parents were immigrants from Russia and other Eastern European countries, and one student's parents moved to the United States from Japan.

Students also came from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds. In citing their parents' professions, 33 students out of the 136 participants (24 percent) reported that their fathers worked in blue-collar positions such as farmers, electricians, miners, welders, and textile workers, which was lower than the national average of over one-third of the total workforce. Sixty-one students' fathers (45 percent) worked in white-collar careers unrelated to science such as law, teaching, accounting, and sales. Twenty-nine students' fathers (21 percent) worked in fields related to science, medicine, and engineering such as chemists, dentists, physicians, researchers, science teachers, pharmacists, and engineers. These rates exceeded those seen in the national composition, where these workers totaled 15 percent of the overall workforce. In addition, forty-one students mentioned that their mothers had some form of college or postsecondary training. The range of parents' careers coincided with the overall diversity of student participation at national fairs.[35] Although students came from a variety of backgrounds, the majority still desired to pursue careers in science, engineering, or medicine. Forty-seven students wanted to major in a science-related field, thirty-two students sought careers in engineering or electronics, and twenty-seven students were interested in medicine. Only twelve students planned on pursuing a major not related to science. Students clearly chose science fairs as a pastime that could lead to future employment.

The range of student inspirations was also reflected in the variety of their displays. Students at the 1955 fair exhibited projects on topics ranging from poisonous snakes and heated horticulture to rocket propulsion and a liquid scintillator. Photographs of student projects, along with project descriptions, demonstrate how students conveyed scientific evidence. A close study of both project content and modes of display reveals the underlying values behind students' conceptions of science. Some projects sought out solutions to everyday problems. Female students in particular often focused on issues related to social welfare. Joanna Hackman, a twelfth grader from Redford, Virginia, conducted a nutritional study after reading that chlorella could serve as a source of food for starving populations. She began testing the nutritive value of spirogyra, a variety of freshwater alga that was more easily accessible than chlorella. Her project won first prize in the Girls Biology category. Whereas Hackman turned to current research for inspiration, other students' projects were based on problems they encountered firsthand. Carolyn Kirkpatrick's home economics project tested the quality of soap and detergents in the cleaning process of rayon and cotton.[36] These projects capitalized on science fairs as a platform for addressing real-world concerns.

Other projects demonstrated different forms of ingenuity that could serve national interests. Some students adopted cutting-edge research or techniques. Winston Stanley Marshall, also a Science Talent Search finalist, won fourth place for applying paper chromatography to his research on alkaloid drugs, demonstrating knowledge of a relatively novel method. Other projects employed



Tami Toffer Anderson won her division at the 1956 Science Fair for her project, "Electrophoresis." Toffer Anderson's display showcased the theory, application, and equipment for her experiment. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution Archives, image #SIA2010-0105.

innovative uses of materials. Charles Jay Schwartz designed and constructed a telescope using salvaged parts such as .22 caliber shells, paper towel tubes, and curtain rods. Student projects also demonstrated innovation by developing new laboratory techniques. Finally, some projects presented theoretical concepts in new ways. Philip Pochay used a light, an electromagnet, a vacuum, and photoelectric cells to ascertain whether or not a magnetic field was due to special curvature. Pochay's project earned him an award for most creative thinking.[37] Although they varied by discipline and methodology, these projects all demonstrated the value of creativity, a virtue promoted not only in science fairs but also in classrooms and households across the country.[38]

Generally, students' presentations emphasized procedures and results based on measurable outcomes. A typical fair exhibit of the mid-1950s featured a single, double, or (most frequently) trifold display with text explaining the goal, methods, and results of the project. Students often supplemented the textual information with equipment, specimens or examples of their work, and laboratory notebooks. For instance, Yvonne Nasser described her experiment in producing penicillin broth. The headers of her display—"Protecting," "Producing," and "Processing"—offered a step-by-step explanation of her technique along with its potential commercial value. In front, Nasser displayed her microscope along with sample slides. Although Nasser included images and diagrams, she ultimately conveyed her information through textual analysis and equipment rather than the visual aesthetics of the display itself.[39]

The majority of finalists from early national fairs continued to pursue science in college and into their careers. In 1960 G. L. Daniels, a doctoral student studying education at Columbia University, evaluated questionnaires completed by 295 respondents who participated in the NSF between 1950 and 1955.[40] Daniels evaluated the role of extracurricular activities in influencing adolescent interest in science. Daniels focused on "whether these particular students in their later career development have continued on the science path."[41] Echoing the broader goals of the science fair movement, Daniels's study gauged student success by evaluating career prospects, as well as general interest in science.

In evaluating the responses of early NSF finalists, Daniels discovered that socioeconomic background played a significant role in students' decisions to pursue science-related careers. More than half of the respondents came from privileged backgrounds. Half of all participants had at least one parent who finished college. Socioeconomic status also affected students' eventual career decisions. Students from less privileged upbringings tended to gravitate toward professions that required less higher education than their wealthier counterparts. Daniels reported that engineers, mathematicians, physicians, psychologists, and botanists generally came from upper-class backgrounds, whereas nurses, technicians, chemists, and biologists came more often from working-class backgrounds.[42] Science Service officials hoped that any student, regardless of background, had the chance to fulfill his or her potential given the right opportunity. Regardless, Daniels's study demonstrated that socioeconomic standing influenced not only whether students participated in science fairs but also their future career choices.

Daniels also found that future career choices often broke down along gender lines. More men chose careers in engineering, physics, and mathematics (all mathematicians who responded to the survey were male). Women were more likely to work as nurses, technicians, and biologists.[43] Daniels found that in high school, boys were more likely to take higher-level math and physics courses than girls, which might have contributed to gender disparities in eventual career choices. Daniels also measured how marriage affected women's career decisions. Sixty-one percent of female respondents were still single, and 38 percent were married. Of the married women, approximately 25 percent stayed in their career field after marriage, 50 percent had given up their professions temporarily, and 25 percent permanently left their occupations to stay at home.[44] The Science Service continually strived to garner female participation in science by featuring girls' involvement in science in its newsletters and issuing prizes for young women. Yet women were still susceptible to leaving the workforce either because they encountered a stigma or challenges when working in male-dominated fields or because they decided to focus on the needs of their household.

The vast majority of respondents pursued higher education: 96.9 percent of men and 91.5 percent of women attended some college after high school. Ulti-

mately, 75.5 percent of NSF finalists (82 percent of male respondents and 63 percent of female respondents) chose to enter scientific, technical, or related occupations. However, the responses were mixed regarding the impact of students' science fair projects on their career decisions.[45] Although Daniels's study revealed the correlation between gender, socioeconomic status, educational background, and students' eventual career decisions, his work provided only limited insight into whether or not students' participation in extracurricular science had a major influence on their future occupations. Regardless of whether students' career choices were a direct result of their involvement in science fairs, their tendency to pursue scientific and technical fields fulfilled the goals of science fair organizers: locating and promoting scientifically inclined youth for the security of the nation.

Demonstrating Scientific Acumen: Student Entries to *Scientific American*

As adolescent amateurs engaged in science fairs to demonstrate their expertise, they also turned to new forums for gathering inspiration and establishing a sense of community. "The Amateur Scientist" column of *Scientific American* served as a forum that showcased students' work and provided them with recognition. A column intended specifically for lay audiences with an interest in science as an avocation, "The Amateur Scientist" originated in 1928 as a column written by Albert G. Ingalls for amateur astronomers but expanded its scope in 1952 to include a broader range of scientific and technical hobbies. Following Ingalls's retirement in the mid-1950s, Clair L. Stong, an electrical engineer by trade, took over the section. Under Stong's leadership, the column quickly established itself as the authority on amateur science and accumulated an estimated readership of more than one hundred thousand adults and children.[46] The column treated its readers as competent practitioners and featured detailed descriptions of projects based on the assumption that amateurs could replicate or adapt the concepts to suit their own interests. At the same time, this source also reveals the perspectives of students themselves regarding the importance of the work they performed.

Scientific American encouraged students to replicate and improve the work featured in "The Amateur Scientist." High schooler Pat Schultze of St. Louis, Missouri, wrote, "Following the instructions given in your September 1952 issue of *Scientific American,* I constructed the more elaborate chamber and entered it in the annual Greater St. Louis Science Fair. As a result of this work, I was awarded a four-year full-tuition scholarship offered jointly by Monticello College in Alton, Illinois and Washington University in St. Louis."[47] Schultze's success story of replicating a cloud chamber showed how students eagerly utilized *Scientific American* to their own advantage. It also reflected the magazine's commitment to supporting children's autonomous explorations of science. *Sci-*

entific American provided a forum where children could conduct scientific experiments of the atomic era within the safe confines of their own homes.

Columns of "The Amateur Scientist" also encouraged interaction between adults and children, particularly fathers and sons. As the country turned inward toward promoting home and family life, fatherhood became a new "badge of masculinity."[48] One father mentioned purchasing a *Scientific American* subscription for his son that he secretly wanted for himself.[49] David and August Raspet, father and son, submitted an article entitled "Bathtub Aerodynamics," demonstrating modifications to toy airplanes to illustrate how their behavior in water was similar to the motions of full-sized planes in the air. In the coauthored report, thirteen-year-old David was referred to as the "senior author," and his father, a member of the Aerophysics Department at Mississippi State College, was referred to as the "junior author."[50] The story emphasized the authority of David in developing his own scientific interests under the gentle guidance of his father. It also alluded to the critical role of parents, particularly fathers, in training children, particularly sons, as future scientists and engineers. These articles thus perpetuated stereotypes of science and technology as distinctly masculine domains.

For many students, "The Amateur Scientist" also operated as a platform for professionalization. Robert Detenbeck was a finalist in the 1950 Science Talent Search who presented his research on constructing a scintillation counter to measure ionizing radiation. When Stong approached Detenbeck to feature his project, he was a freshman at the University of Rochester majoring in physics. According to Detenbeck's mother, his interest in science began by experimenting with chemistry sets, setting up the breakfast room as a workshop, and scaring children on Halloween by rigging the doorbell with electrical sparks and noises. Detenbeck eventually created a laboratory in the family basement where he worked on building a Geiger counter and dismantling radios before he came across the idea of a scintillation counter through a book at the library.[51] Detenbeck's personal story reveals the ways children evolved from playful hobbyists to serious amateurs. Other students employed "The Amateur Scientist" as a way to jump-start their professional careers. High school student Stephen Fry built a gas laser using the September 1964 column as inspiration. Fry went on to earn a PhD in physics and wrote his dissertation on lasers.[52] "The Amateur Scientist" provided an accessible entry point for students to foster their scientific interests and assist them in all stages of professional socialization.

For high school students from less privileged socioeconomic backgrounds, "The Amateur Scientist" could provide the opportunity they needed to attend college and enter a professional career in science. High school student Harry Rudloe, a semifinalist in the 1955 Science Talent Search, designed a mechanical mouse circuit and submitted not just the plans of his design but also the shorthand notation, a rare feat for amateurs of his age.[53] Despite his accomplishments, Rudloe was uncertain if he could attend college, because he came from

an impoverished background. Stong wrote a letter of recommendation to the director of admission at Harvard University on Rudloe's behalf, stating that "in my 21 years as a science journalist I have never met a more promising young man."[54] Rudloe attended Harvard on a full scholarship. He also received letters of inquiry from industrial manufacturers such as Bell Labs and IBM regarding his work. "The Amateur Scientist" column not only helped facilitate Rudloe's entry into college but also brought his work to the attention of the broader scientific and engineering community. "The Amateur Scientist" column served as an important network forum for science fair participants and other adolescent hobbyists in postwar America. Far from just a column that fostered avocational interest, it treated adolescents as intellectual equals by considering them as full-fledged members of the amateur scientist community. Students' contributions to the column reveal their perceptions that their engagement in science not only served their career ambitions but also allowed them to work on important projects that could, in time, serve the needs of civil defense.

A careful analysis of the 1955 science fair participants' backgrounds, project inspirations, experimental designs, modes of display, career choices, and contributions to "The Amateur Scientist" illustrates the ways in which the NSF served as a mechanism of professionalization that positioned students as the future problem solvers of the postwar world. At the same time, students conceived of themselves as full-fledged practitioners of the scientific enterprise. As the NSF set a standard for the country in extracurricular science, students' projects conveyed analytic values such as ingenuity, trial and error, and applicability to real-world commercial problems. In the early years of the Cold War, finalists used the NSF as a means for conveying scientific authority, as well as a stepping-stone for pursuing future careers in science and engineering. Even as fair organizers envisioned extracurricular science as a vehicle for positioning the United States as a leader on the international stage, adolescents often cited far more personal reasons for their decision to participate.

Setting an International Standard: Science Fairs in Service of National Security

As science fairs cemented the virtues of science domestically, the phenomenon also spread beyond American borders. This section analyzes the ways in which science fairs standardized extracurricular science across the world. In 1957 the NSF opened its eligibility to international students and began showcasing American student projects across the world. Science fair officials sought to export their vision of extracurricular science by initiating student fairs in developing countries. In this regard, the competitions served as a form of cultural diplomacy that set an international standard for adolescent scientific engagement. Much like the youngsters lending their efforts to the Junior Marshall Plan, science fair participants took part in a growing international community of enthusiasts while still demonstrating the preeminence of the United States in infor-

mal science education. What started as an extracurricular pastime became a mark of American global scientific authority at a time when that position was undermined by Soviet scientific advancements.

The Science Service began showcasing the ingenuity of American youth internationally by sending seven projects from the Eighth National Science Fair to Japan. These projects served as an example of American scientific authority, with a Japanese geology professor reportedly commenting that a student's fossil collection was "better than most of our university students can classify."[55] After witnessing the success of NSF, in 1957 Japan started its own Science Festival, and Puerto Rico also initiated plans to implement a national science fair modeled after the programs of the Science Service.[56] Likewise, the Philippines sent two delegates to the NSF to study the movement. Filipino educators called on Science Service officials to help them find a delegate to initiate a science club network in their country.[57] Although internationally the science fair movement was not as active as in the United States, thousands of students participated worldwide.[58] By the mid-1950s, the NSF not only served as a national standard but also began to operate as an international model of extracurricular science.

By the time the Science Service showcased student projects at the 1962 Seattle World's Fair, the geopolitical landscape had shifted alongside heated international incidents such as the Bay of Pigs invasion. In the process, extracurricular science became not only a means for educational outreach but also an international imperative. By 1962, the Atomic Energy Commission had begun partnering with the Science Service to employ science fairs as a mode of cultural diplomacy that could support the AEC's objective in facilitating scientific and technical training in Latin American countries.[59] Through financial support by the AEC, the Science Service worked with international leaders to initiate science fair programs in countries such as Mexico, Chile, Uruguay, Colombia, Portugal, El Salvador, and Guatemala.[60] The Science Service capitalized on its position as an international leader in extracurricular science by seeking out federal support. In 1958 Congress passed Public Law 85-875 to foster youth interest in science through clubs, fairs, and other extracurricular activities. Although a bill to support the Science Service in fulfilling this mission was introduced twice before Congress, the measure ultimately failed.[61] In spite of the financial setback, the Science Service continued to support atomic age science through its continuing partnership with the AEC. In this regard, science fairs operated as a de facto intellectual arms race by seeking to dominate extracurricular science in the Western Hemisphere.

In the battle to demonstrate American scientific authority, science fair participants were recruited as cultural ambassadors to tout the virtues of science abroad. In Europe, American students were invited to showcase their work at the West Berlin Industries Fair and participate in emerging European youth science programs such as the European International Camp, London International Youth Science Fortnight, Camp of the Jeunesses Scientifiques in Belgium, and a science camp organized by the Mouvement Jeunes-Science in France.[62] In the

early 1960s, the Science Service continued to maintain strong ties with Japanese science fair authorities by sending American students to the Japan Student Science Awards. In a program eventually called Operation Cherry Blossom, three NSF finalists were sponsored by the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force to serve as "special representatives" of the armed forces.[63] While students showcased their projects, they spent time visiting with Japanese students and their families. In these instances, American students not only were symbols of American ingenuity but also served as ambassadors who could speak directly to the pedagogical aims and analytic values behind American fairs.

In 1965, director Watson Davis commented on the success of the science fair movement at home and abroad. Davis claimed that participants in clubs and fairs served as the "brain force" that would continue to advance civilization. "They are viewing the world with fresh and enlightened minds that will give advanced knowledge of facts and theories when they join the research ranks," Davis remarked.[64] The Seventeenth National Science Fair, fittingly retitled the National Science Fair—International, now boasted representatives from 227 fairs, including eleven students from foreign countries such as West Germany, the Philippines, Costa Rica, Canada, Japan, Sweden, and Puerto Rico.[65] That same year, the Science Service changed the name of the National Science Fair—International once again, this time to the International Science Fair.[66] The name aptly reflected the impressive scale of the science fair movement. What had started as a grassroots pastime had now grown into a worldwide sensation.

During the first fifteen years of the NSF, the Science Service set in motion a standard for adolescent scientific engagement that served as a model for the rest of the world. American students who engaged in these programs not only received training for future scientific careers but also served as ambassadors who spread the message of American ingenuity both at home and abroad. By encouraging participation around the world, science fairs proved to be an effective outlet for expressing American hegemonic notions of science under the pretext of international cooperation. Young people served as powerful symbols of American scientific might and, by extension, their nation's position of authority in the Cold War world.

NOTES

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27. Shirley Moore, "Laboratories Train Scientists," *Science News-Letter*, March 29, 1958, 202–3; "Young Summer Scientists," *Science News-Letter*, June 23, 1962, 386.
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30. Helen Miles Davis, ed., *Science Exhibits* (Washington, D.C.: Science Service, 1955), 8–9.
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33. 1955 NSF Binder, Institutional Records, Society for Science and the Public, Washington, D.C.
34. By 1957 students from New York were participating in the NSF.
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39. A fascinating comparison could be made with Steven Conn's analysis of contempo-

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43. Ibid., 56–63.
44. Ibid., 94–95.
45. Ibid., 74–75.
46. In 1960, Stong published a collection of projects featured in the column in a book titled *The Amateur Scientist*. Although the book went out of print in 1972, it is still a popular resource among contemporary amateurs. See C. L. Stong, *The Amateur Scientist: Projects from the "Scientific American"* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 1965).
47. Box 1, C. L. Stong Collection, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. The collection contains drafts of Stong's articles and correspondence with contributors and readers.
48. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 129.
49. Box 4, Stong Collection.
50. Box 3, Stong Collection.
51. Box 2, Stong Collection.
52. "Home-Made Laser," Smithsonian National Museum of American History, accessed November 10, 2018, http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_713857.
53. Box 2, Stong Collection.
54. Box 4, Stong Collection.
55. "Japanese Teachers See Science Fair Exhibits," *Science News-Letter*, October 12, 1957, 229; "Puerto Rico to Hold Fair," *Science News-Letter*, November 23, 1957, 325. Other countries, such as India, requested to showcase American student projects as well. See "Winning Science Fair Exhibits Travel to India," *Science News-Letter*, December 10, 1960, 376.
56. "Japan Starts Combines Science Search and Fair," *Science News-Letter*, May 11, 1957, 303.
57. "Philippines Aids Science Talent, Understanding," *Science News-Letter*, October 12, 1957, 233.
58. "Science Program Spreads," *Science News-Letter*, October 27, 1962, 271.
59. For other examples of cultural diplomacy in American history, see Endy Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, eds., *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009); and Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

60. "Science Program Spreads"; "Mexican Science Exhibits," *Science News-Letter*, March 3, 1962, 134; "Uruguay Holds First National Science Fair," *Science News-Letter*, November 2, 1963, 280–81; "Science Fair in Spain," *Science News-Letter*, May 2, 1964, 279; "Costa Rica Prepares National Science Fair," *Science News-Letter*, October 2, 1965, 219; "Teen Science Brain Force," *Science News-Letter*, January 9, 1965, 21.
61. "Charter Youth Activities," *Science News-Letter*, May 26, 1962, 334; "Science Service Charter Bill Passes House," *Science News-Letter*, June 30, 1962, 406; "Science Service Charter Is Considered by House," *Science News-Letter*, February 9, 1963, 86.
62. "Fair Winners Go to Berlin," *Science News-Letter*, August 6, 1960, 95; "European Science Camp Open to American Teens," *Science News-Letter*, June 5, 1965, 360.
63. "Armed Forces 'Operation Cherry Blossom,'" *Science News-Letter*, May 23, 1964, 335; "Operation Cherry Blossom Participants Selected," *Science News-Letter*, May 22, 1965, 327.
64. "Teen Science Brain Force," *Science News-Letter*, January 9, 1965, 21.
65. Shirley Moore, "On to Dallas for Science Fair!," *Science News-Letter*, April 2, 1966, 216–18.
66. "International Science Fair New Name Adopted," *Science News-Letter*, May 22, 1965, 324.

Training Teenagers

SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE AND CONSENSUS BUILDING IN POSTWAR AMERICA

MOLLY JESSUP

In 1949, Marlyn, a high school student in Missouri, undertook a personality improvement project in her home economics class. She handed out cards to ten classmates and told them to grade her on several areas of her personality. She evaluated those cards, consciously tried to improve for two weeks, and then asked her classmates to regrade her. At the close of the project, Marlyn received a grade of 100 percent on appearance and grooming and above 90 percent on manners, facial expression, poise, character traits, efficiency, and modesty. Friendliness was solid at 85 percent, but disposition (75 percent), posture (65 percent), interest in others (62 percent), and health (55 percent) remained somewhat lower. In an essay written for her home economics teacher, Marlyn concluded: "By working on this project I found what my undesirable traits were in the eyes of other people. Therefore, I feel that I can improve as time goes on, although sometimes it is difficult to remember that when someone reminds you to improve your posture, etc., that they are trying to help you be more pleasing rather than criticizing." Marlyn's mother also praised the project, noting that it made her daughter "conscious of her appearance in the eyes of others."[1]

At first glance, Marlyn's project appears unremarkable. After all, many high schoolers want to be liked by their peers. However, the political stakes of "personality projects" such as Marlyn's—and the larger program of life adjustment education (LAE) of which they were a part—were high. Responding to citizen and governmental demands for practical skills education that could create a well-adjusted citizenry, teachers across the country adopted LAE and instructed their students to conduct projects similar to Marlyn's during the two decades following World War II. Young people were at the center of a fragile and contested process of consensus building as they pursued projects that encouraged them to become more likeable and to understand themselves. Government officials and educational leaders looked to LAE, too, as a means of forging cooperative and democratic relationships within students' personal lives—and, by extension, strengthening American democracy writ large.

But LAE differed in conception and in practice. While national leaders lauded LAE as a tool for building democratic personal relationships, local teachers were often more focused on dates and dresses than on democracy. Indeed, in home economics classrooms across the country, teenagers who struggled to fit into prescribed roles were encouraged to adjust their behavior or appearance rather than to question the social, economic, and political systems that privileged certain bodies or bodily performances and stigmatized others. The normative teenager as envisioned by life adjustment educators was white, able-bodied, middle class, and heterosexual—a racialized, gendered, classed, and ableist archetype that jarred with the lived experiences of many American youth. Personality projects gave the appearance of freedom by encouraging (or coercing) young people like Marlyn to choose self-improvement and personality adaptation over interrogating society's prescriptions. Teenagers yielded considerable power to affirm, disrupt, or completely alter social ideals and realities. Life adjustment education sought to direct teenagers toward certain behaviors and thus ease the conflict between the competing goals of postwar consensus building: autonomy and cohesion.

Consensus-building projects—efforts to create what historian Wendy L. Wall described as an "American Way"—were often tension filled. Government officials, business leaders, interfaith activists, and others undertook consensus building as a political project in the 1930s in reaction to emerging totalitarian governments abroad and the economic crisis at home. Often, these various individuals were pursuing their own agenda: to limit criticisms of capitalism by promoting class harmony or to adopt consensus language and ideas to promote the idea of tolerance and pluralism across racial and religious lines. Thus, the central tension in consensus building was between civility (maintaining present economic and power structures by suggesting they benefited the whole) or equality (addressing power imbalances in order to create social change). However, despite debates over the meaning of the "American Way" among "business and advertising executives, government officials, interfaith activists, and other cultural elites," Wall writes, "the compromises they made—and the alliances they forged—did much to produce the consensus culture that marked the public arena during the postwar years."[2]

Education reformers and educators were also invested in competing notions of consensus as a political project. Their efforts, too, were beset by the tension between civility and equality. By extension, teenage high schoolers became both objects and participants in the development of a consensus culture. This chapter argues that personality projects are essential to understanding how schooling shaped the new model citizen, a citizen who fit into the emerging—albeit contested—understanding of the "American Way."

The adjustment of individual personalities was one significant way to build a consensus culture. Sociologist David Riesman's "other-directed" personality type, through which adherents looked to others as a means of regulating the self, is perhaps best remembered in connection with the postwar white-collar

workforce.[3] But the emphasis on the other-directed personality was not limited to the corporate world. This chapter sheds light on how government officials, education reformers, and teachers sought to bring LAE, with its emphasis on "other-directedness," into public schools and how teenagers engaged with that project.

The American teenager has been the subject of many cultural histories in recent years.[4] The expansion of secondary schooling was a primary factor in the development of adolescence as a category. Historian Grace Palladino demonstrates how age-segregated government education policies from the 1930s onward encouraged demarcations by numerical age and grade level, resulting in a sense of group identity among adolescents.[5] Schooling is an important location for understanding the experiences of American youth, particularly in the post–World War II period. By 1960, 90 percent of high school–age adolescents were enrolled in high school.[6] Public schools are an important location for analyzing contested issues in American society. As Tracy L. Steffes argues, the "tremendous size, scope, and power" of public schools invite historians to ask ambitious questions about federal authority, power dynamics, and state intervention into the lives of citizens.[7] Schools are a location in which the state attempts to exert societal control through institutional policy.

The study of life adjustment education sheds new light on how public schools as agents of a capitalist, democratic state actively sought to create other-directed citizenship, particularly among adolescent girls, during the Cold War. While educational historian William Wraga argues that LAE has been overemphasized in histories of education based on the relatively brief existence of the program, in fact, the manner in which schools participated in shaping a culture of conformity has remained a blind spot for historians.[8] If LAE is only considered as a failed educational reform in a long list of similarly short-lived programs, then certainly even the relatively scant attention given to it may be too generous. The U.S. Office of Education's official attention to the reform was indeed limited; there were two appointed commissions from 1947 to 1954 to study how LAE could be more widely adopted both throughout curricula and throughout the nation.[9] By 1957, the launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union had led to a new emphasis within the U.S. Office of Education on math, science, and engineering. However, the importance of this educational reform should not be measured by official commissions alone. Local school districts and education reformers continued to incorporate LAE into curricula into the 1960s; certain practices, including group work and field trips, extended far past the reform's high point. Life adjustment education was not merely about changing the way that young people learned.[10] Rather, it was an explicit effort to shape cultural values. Educators and government planners were embarking on a mission to create a stronger democratic society by molding citizens.

This chapter addresses the origins of LAE and the struggle among government officials, educators, and classroom teachers to define the program. Educational reformers and government officials hoped that LAE would promote

democratic personal relationships, arm students with practical skills, and lessen educational inequality. But in emphasizing personal reflection and individual change, LAE reformers foreclosed critiques of structural inequalities, particularly in regard to race, to the detriment of students. In examining how students learned about LAE, this chapter demonstrates how teenagers, particularly adolescent girls, were enlisted into the fragile and often paradoxical consensus-building project in mid-twentieth-century America.[11]

Origins of Life Adjustment Education

Life adjustment education was a reform that developed from Progressive Era education. In the early twentieth century, amid growing concerns about protecting youth from exploitative labor practices and amid an emerging understanding of adolescence as a separate psychological state, government education policies expanded access to secondary education. Many educators and reformers also looked to public education as a vehicle for molding a virtuous citizenry.[12] In an effort to prepare better citizens, education reformers suggested that schools should teach the habits of "collective thinking" through the assignment of group projects and socialized classroom instruction that might inspire collective responsibility. They also argued that schools should be organized and administered in a more democratic fashion, with cooperative relationships between students and teachers, a concept that was later embraced by advocates of LAE.

Despite the enthusiasm of education reformers for citizenship training in public schools, the Great Depression of the 1930s and the tumult of World War II strained school retention rates. In 1945 vocational educators argued for "life skills education," which would appeal to students and keep them in school. These educators believed that young Americans bound for either college or the workforce needed practical education to become functioning members of society. Life adjustment education supporters essentially wanted both practical education and citizenship training. Public education reflected society's faith in education as a means of promoting democratic values; LAE would implement and improve those values in a changing society through the education of individual students. As one supporter and education professor later asserted, "Democracy recognizes the importance and dignity of the individual and utilizes his improvability as a means of social evolution and progress." Ultimately, each individual "should be a responsible, self-disciplined, and self-directing citizen" in order to "locate sources of information which will aid him in the solution of personal and social problems."[13]

Public support for educational reform was strengthened by a perceived increase in juvenile delinquency during the Second World War. The war caused dislocations for Americans in a variety of ways—from geographic displacement to rationing to the loss of loved ones—and the concern for the future was manifested as anxiety about young people.[14] Historian James Gilbert suggests that juvenile delinquency became a pressing public issue in part because experts

made it so; it would be young Americans who suffered most acutely because of "neglect, broken family life, and diminishing community services."[15] While LAE advocates frequently touted the benefits of conformity, they did not see all peer pressure as a positive good. If teenagers were left without the guidance of experts and did not have the benefit of schooling, they could become "maladjusted," neglecting their important roles as citizens. Life adjustment education supporters argued that vocational education could act as a stabilizing influence for youth and could prevent juvenile delinquency. Federal legislators agreed: the George-Barden Act of 1946 doubled states' access to federal funds for vocational education programs.[16] As the top vocational program in American schools, home economics benefited greatly from this allocation of funds.[17]

Home economics educators argued that their discipline was well suited to support families and to teach young people skills that would allow them to form their own healthy families. A teacher in Colorado described how her home economics class included group discussions of family relationship problems and private teacher-student discussions regarding individual family problems. The teacher also framed her argument about the importance of home economics in terms of national, even global, citizenship. "Until people learn to live as individuals and as families," she insisted, "they cannot make much of a success of living in communities, nations, and the world."[18] From the perspective of educators, schools and education experts needed to take on the task of social guidance rather than leaving the process to families because of the importance of creating good citizens.

The greatest challenge in successfully implementing LAE was that various stakeholders had different goals, which existed simultaneously. These varying goals made life adjustment education's purpose appear amorphous at times. In a broad sense, government officials in the Office of Education viewed stable personalities that could get along with others as vital for the smooth functioning of the social order.[19] The Office of Education's Commission on Life Adjustment Education wrote that "no other nation in the world has had a similar need for an informed and intelligent citizenry. . . . They must be taught efficiency and devotion to the Nation's peculiar ideals and ambitions."[20] This was part of a larger societal phenomenon in the Cold War; historian Elaine Tyler May has described the process as "private and personal solutions to social problems" in her study of postwar American families.[21] LAE advocates often prized civility as the preferred form of consensus building and viewed individual adjustment without complaint as the superior solution to societal ills.

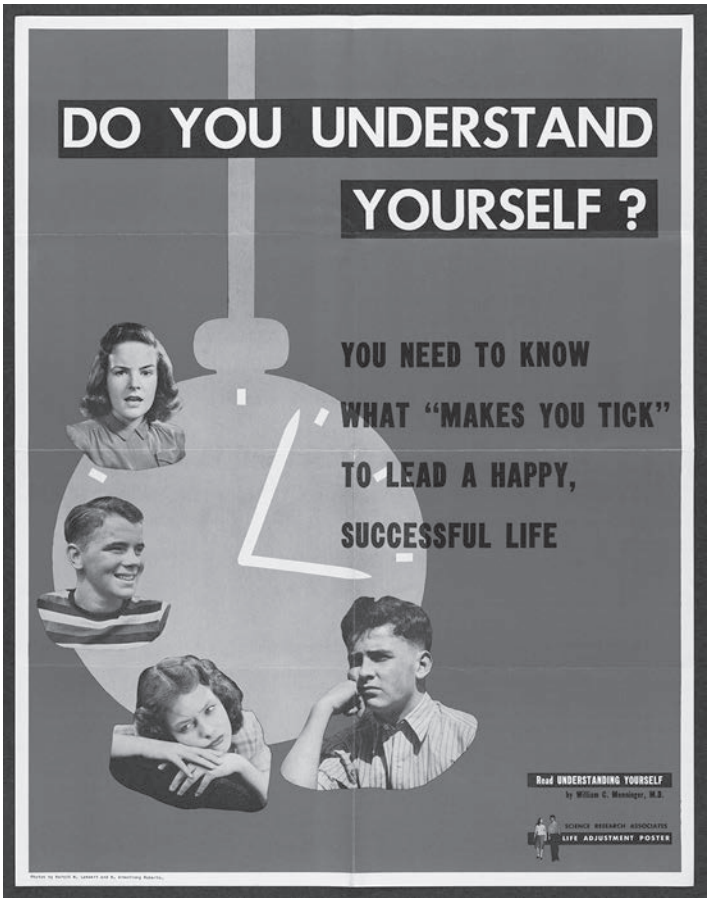
For vocational educators, who developed the concept of LAE, the success of the educational reform would affirm the importance of vocational education. Charles Prosser, the director of the Dunwoody Institute of Minneapolis and the coiner of the term "life adjustment education," argued that a full 60 percent of American high school students were not receiving the kind of practical education they needed.[22] He believed that most high schoolers were not going to attend college; therefore, the college curriculum should not dictate the pub-

lic school curriculum. Instead, he argued that all students, even those who intended to go on to college, would benefit from learning practical skills. Prosser explicitly connected the abstract idea of citizenship with the vocabulary of labor when he identified "the job of living" as the first step to becoming "journeymen in citizenship."[23] Prosser and his fellow vocational educators viewed LAE as a significant education reform—it was a reform developed within their discipline that spoke to their priorities in education. In a less idealized sense, the popularization of LAE would also ensure the continued relevance of their discipline and teaching positions.

While vocational educators were concerned about the relevancy of curricula, and the official Commission on Life Adjustment Education was invested in personal adjustment and what Wall termed "civility" in consensus building, others in government believed that life adjustment education should address inequality. Notably, John Studebaker, the commissioner of the U.S. Office of Education, stated in 1947 that LAE was a means to address "the deplorable results of educational discrepancies between richer and poorer states, between urban and rural communities, and between schools for white and for Negro children." From his appointment to commissioner in 1934, Studebaker had championed civic education as a means of strengthening democracy. In his mind, LAE might overcome the inertia in American public schooling by formulating recommendations and providing a uniform approach to education. The reform was to be supported by the federal government with directives and with vocational education funding as well, easing the burden of program implementation for states and local communities. Studebaker, who authorized the Office of Education's Commission on Life Adjustment, believed that the revamping of high school curricula in accordance with the commission's recommendations was "the most significant single accomplishment of the office in the past year" and would perhaps be the reform that would address educational inequality.[24] For Studebaker, LAE seemed like the pathway to a more egalitarian school system and a consensus-building project that could address issues of inequality.

Studebaker's understanding of LAE, however, rarely found expression in American classrooms. With the exception of Studebaker, supporters of LAE reform viewed it primarily as a tool to help make education relevant to students. As a result, LAE did not address educational inequality in a meaningful way.

Moreover, as a reform, LAE's ability to address societal issues was hampered by inconsistent application. Life adjustment education was implemented on the state level and embraced by some local schools more than others. Further, despite the increase in vocational education funding from the federal government, schools within a given state did not have equal financial or community support. For instance, a study from 1951 about the implementation of LAE in Texas showed that teachers in schools designated for students of color were more likely to acknowledge the limited outcomes of the reform due to inadequate resources.[25] In another study, a doctoral student sent questionnaires to state departments of education in the Deep South to inquire about the implementation



Promotional poster for William C. Menninger's *Understanding Yourself* (1948–49) booklet, part of the Science Research Associates Life Adjustment Education Series. Courtesy of the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

of LAE in their schools. He reported that government officials sent his questionnaire only to schools for whites, which led to an incomplete and perhaps overly rosy picture of educational outcomes, much to his disappointment.[26]

What government officials, education reformers, and local teachers did agree on was that a "likeable" personality was best suited for a democracy with an emerging corporate economic order. This focus on "likeability" would dominate lesson plans in home economics classrooms across the country.

Adjustment in the Classroom

The materials for home economics classes were created by educators and psychologists with a national audience in mind, presenting an idealized version of teens and communities. Many educational experts and authors were white and

the beneficiaries of advanced formal schooling, a perspective that influenced the materials they produced. In the fictionalized world constructed in classroom materials, regional differences disappeared, and all Americans faced the same problems. The solutions offered by these materials encouraged teens to consider how others behaved and to understand themselves from the perspective of others. Armed with these insights, educators assumed, teens would willingly modify their behavior.

Educational materials frequently attempted to speak to the teenager's perspective. A popular textbook used by many schools was *Into Your Teens*, written by Helen Shacter, Gladys Gardner Jenkins, and W. W. Bauer. In their textbook, the authors told readers that they had relied on research that had been conducted about adolescence, but they also incorporated information from surveys of teens themselves. With the cooperation of teachers from all over the country, "hundreds of young adolescents were asked to record the things they frequently wonder about and worry about. To encourage frankness and spontaneity, all papers were turned in unsigned."[27] Importantly, the authors' actions reflected larger cultural goals for consensus-building projects. By having teenagers as advisors and willing participants in the project, the authors were encouraging young people to *choose* self-improvement and change, giving the project the appearance of freedom rather than the pressure of coerced conformity. Many textbooks, filmstrips, and pamphlets created fictional teenage characters with whom authors hoped readers could identify. *Into Your Teens*, for one, followed a fictional class of characters, making the problems they faced seem more realistic and engaging. Many other textbooks and educational filmstrips adopted a similar approach.

"Likeability" was a major personality trait in life adjustment textbooks. Likeability was important to maintaining what education experts described as democratic relationships, working together with a common purpose. Adults could help shape malleable young people into model citizens by promoting self-improvement and other-directedness. Many authors encouraged a process of self-reflection followed by a plan for personal growth. Shacter, Gardner Jenkins, and Bauer, for instance, listed the general qualities of likeability as an interest in others, a willingness to help others, kindness, flexibility, dependability, neatness in personal appearance, the ability to be a good listener, and a sense of humor—qualities that filmstrips and other materials generally agreed made for an ideal personality.[28] In theory, a teen would read such a list and compare his or her personality against the ideal type. In *Teen-Agers*, the authors included a fictional question-and-answer session held at the Teen Canteen, a social club for teenagers, in which one teen asks another, "Is there something wrong with you if you discover there are people who don't like you?" The answer given by one teen is that "there might be something wrong with you, and it wouldn't hurt to take an honest look and see if you can find out what it might be. On the other hand, someone might dislike you because your personality clashes with his."[29] In this example, the authors simultaneously encourage self-reflection and self-acceptance.

Importantly, they also prioritize looking outside oneself: "interest in others," "willingness to help," "dependability," and listening skills. These skills, the authors suggested, might all contribute to a harmonious, functional society. As government officials in the U.S. Office of Education had argued, the ability to engage with others was particularly important in a society that was held together by a political ideology. The other-directed traits would inspire personal solutions to societal discord, helping to create consensus and agreement.

Authors encouraged their young readers to look to others, particularly to the wise counsel of adults, in order to improve themselves. Life adjustment education advocates viewed the right kind of conformity as a crucial part of personality training. The authors of *Health and Fitness* assured teenage readers that "defects can be corrected" with the proper method, which included assessing one's faults with "the aid of an older and wiser person."[30] Similarly, in Coronet Films' *Shy Guy* (1947), the main character, Phil, who has struggled to fit in with classmates after a move to a new town, receives advice from his father. His father tells him, "Everybody's different. That's what makes people interesting." Then he asks his son about his schoolmates' interests and advises him to "pick out the most popular boys and girls in school and keep an eye on them. Try to figure out why people like them. Not that you'll ever be just like any of them, but you might learn something." The advice fits the overall LAE pattern of looking outside oneself and pursuing self-improvement. When Phil acts on his father's advice, he observes that the popular people took great interest in what others said and always looked to help other people, and "it sure pays off in friends." At a school social mixer, Phil takes an opportunity to give another student advice about repairing a record player, which results in Phil inviting people to his home and ultimately receiving an invitation to listen to records with his classmates.[31] *Educational Screen*, a publication that reviewed educational filmstrips, praised *Shy Guy* as a filmstrip that would "permit students to identify themselves with characters in the picture." The teachers reviewing the film believed it "does an excellent job of 'holding the mirror up to youth'; it avoids, in a highly commendable fashion, the effect of being staged."[32] *Shy Guy* set the standard for many subsequent social guidance films, and its message reached countless students.

For students seeking specific methods of self-assessment, textbooks and pamphlets provided them with a means to better understand themselves. The textbook *Health and Fitness*, for example, included the Personality Rating Scale, in which personality traits, including personal (physical) attractiveness, mental ability, speech and voice, and social adaptability, could be rated from excellent to poor. If the ratings in any category were low, students might consider how they could improve their score and raise their personal rating.[33] William Menninger's pamphlet *Making and Keeping Friends* included a "friendship checklist" with various "yes or no" questions, such as "Do you enjoy the success and achievements of your friends?"; "Do you try to prevent outbursts of anger and thoughtless remarks, and follow them with sincere apology if they do occur?"; and "Are you as courteous to your friends as you are to complete strangers?" Those who

could answer "yes" to most of the questions "probably don't have much to worry about in the friendship line." Those with lower scores would probably want to improve, "and there's no one who can't do a better job of it if he really tries. (This should be encouraging to you if you came out with a lot of *no's*). You can improve your score!"[34] The educational materials included questions that might encourage students to consider how they were viewed by others, as education experts reinforced the importance of self-improvement in order to improve relationships and, ultimately, achieve group harmony.

The state-written vocational education reports submitted to the federal government included student reports about personality self-improvement projects selected by teachers. Educators who submitted examples of student work tended to select the work of female students. Although this may be reflective of the gender demographics in the classrooms, young women's work seemed to exhibit the qualities educators prized, including selflessness, nurturing, and thoughtful improvement. Teachers selected several projects that exemplified these values, including one from a student in Iowa who reported that she made a conscious effort to be less selfish as an improvement project. The student tried to compromise with family members, for instance, staying home from a date to babysit younger siblings so that her mother could go to a meeting. The student insisted that the project helped her become more of an adult, "more broad-minded and less selfish." Another student, in the course of conducting her project, realized that her mother needed more help around the house.[35] These projects both emphasized self-sacrifice and embraced the traditionally female role of assisting mothers with childcare and housework. In fact, many of the characteristics associated with likeability—the ability to listen to others and willingness to help—were coded as female. While the young women came to the aid of their mothers and families in these cases, the same skills of analysis, contribution, and being selfless would apply to the larger democratic "family" of American society.

Other students were motivated to undertake personality adjustment based on their status as social outsiders. One such student was Carolyn, a sophomore in high school who began a project she called "Improving My Personality." Carolyn had the support of her mother, and she consulted frequently with her teacher, who, Carolyn noted, "ha[d] spent a lot of time at my house trying to help me." Carolyn started her project in September 1952 and vowed to continue indefinitely. ("I shall always try to improve," she vowed.) In her essay, Carolyn wrote, "I really don't know what made me a dull and shy [*sic*]," but living five miles outside of any town with no transportation limited her social options. Significantly, she was motivated to change when she compared herself with her peers. When she began high school, she noticed that she wasn't like the other girls in her class because she did not have friends or "mix well." The other students would discuss on Monday what they did the weekend before; Carolyn noted that no one had been to see her, because she had so few friends. Carolyn described her home economics class and her teacher, Mrs. Wilson, as the solution to her problems. She shared her struggles with her teacher, who then encouraged her to improve

her personality. Carolyn went to the library and checked out books called *Social Problems, Your Clothes and Personality,* and *Put Yourself to a Test*. From those books she acquired "helpful information" that she presumably used to change her personality and appearance. As a measurement of her success she wrote, "I even had a boy take me to the Junior Prom this spring and I'm only a sophomore."[36] Carolyn's transformation illustrates one of the ways that successful personality adjustment was measured. An important indicator of success was acceptance by others, and in this particular case, Carolyn was accepted into heteronormative dating practices and earned the admiration of a (slightly) older male. Carolyn's teacher believed her social problems stemmed from personal factors such as her appearance and personality and not from an external factor such as living so far out of town. The teacher's concern with Carolyn's appearance reflected the greater emphasis placed on women's appearance in the vocational education reports. While textbooks and educational pamphlets also encouraged young men to change their appearance as needed, classroom teachers did not regularly comment on the appearance of male students.

Sublimating one's personality to fit in with established norms was a key component of successfully adjusting to society, provided it was done by following expert guidance. For education reformers, personality projects benefited individual students while also encouraging the kind of self-reflection that could serve students well in their future role as citizens and heads of their own families. For Carolyn, the project was personally transformative and brought her some level of social success and perhaps happiness. For educators, Carolyn's vow that she would continuously improve herself was the ideal response for a consensus-building project. Carolyn's difficulties in finding social acceptability may have been caused by some things within her control, but what remains significant is that there was no real debate about her altering her personality to fit in with the dominant culture. Her ostensibly autonomous decision was to choose improvement. In various personality projects, the ability to choose improvement and conformity gave the impression of freedom while encouraging social cohesion.

The Limitations of Life Adjustment Education

Unsurprisingly, in pushing students to adapt their personalities to an idealized version of an American teenager, LAE materials generally did not account for prejudices relating to religion, economics, disability, and race. Often, educational materials presented an American society that was white, middle class, and largely devoid of any ethnic, racial, or religious tensions.[37] When these tensions were explored in educational materials, the solution was remarkably consistent: marginalized teens were encouraged to put in additional effort to overcome the challenges they faced. Although U.S. Commissioner of Education John Studebaker had expressed his belief that LAE was a means to address "the deplorable results of educational discrepancies" and cure various social ills, the educational materials and pedagogical approach emphasized adapting to socie-

tal expectations. Rather than a tool to create a more egalitarian society, as some supporters had intended, LAE became a means of encouraging conformity and supporting the existing power dynamics of American society.

Students encountered advice about pursuing consensus-minded behavior, including in matters of religious faith. By the 1950s, an emerging national image of religious pluralism linked the democratic system with three major faiths: Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism.[38] Students were encouraged to bridge the religious divide between themselves and others, but the classroom materials minimized religious differences and did not acknowledge the continued existence of religious prejudice or anti-Semitism. William Menninger recounted the story of Andy, a Jewish teen who struggled to fit in with his peers of different faiths. While Andy wanted friendship with the other boys, "they stick pretty much with their own, non-Jewish friends and he feels they don't care to include him in their group." Again, the example called on the individual to engage in self-critique. "Actually," Menninger wrote, "Andy has been reserved and stand-offish, and has made no effort to become more friendly with these boys. The chances are that if they got to know and like Andy as an individual, they *would* accept him as a friend."[39] The onus was on the individual to become part of the larger group and seek commonality, regardless of the reality of continued discrimination.

Likewise, educators encouraged students to overcome economic challenges through the continued process of becoming likeable. One textbook featured a question from a fictional student who asked what to do if you could not entertain at home like others. The answer was that "if you try to be a likeable person, people will want to include you in their get-togethers. And you can feel free to accept their hospitality." Teens who could not entertain at home, the textbook author advised, would need to be helpful with preparations and cleaning at other people's houses or "find little ways of showing friendship" other than entertaining.[40]

In contrast to the abstract situations illustrated in the educational textbooks, home economics teachers recognized the material struggles of their students and noted the effects on appearance and personality while still encouraging personality adaptations. A teacher in Wisconsin described meeting a student named Therese who "entered high school because she had to, not because she wanted to. She was shy, poorly dressed and not too clean in appearance, but willing to learn as long as she had to be here." Therese's home life was tough, as her parents had limited finances, poor health, and a lack of education. It was "long difficult work and often disheartening" for the teacher, who tried to help with organizing housework and home finances. She met with Therese's parents and encouraged the family to save money toward a house and for Therese's parents to allow her to spend evenings out with her friends occasionally to help develop social skills. At graduation four years later, Therese "had the appearance of a happy, successful young lady: well-dressed, poised and rather attractive," according to her teacher. The faculty "couldn't help but remark 'what a

change from the grimey [*sic*], mousey, dissatisfied little girl, who came slinking into our rooms that first day."[41] In this case, as in many others, the student's economic status, physical appearance, and likeability were considered as intertwined problems. Significantly, the economic struggles of the student's family were not solved. However, the student no longer visibly appeared to be impoverished, thus making satisfactory personal growth and letting the issue of economic struggle fade into the background.

It is not clear from the official reports if students overcame economic marginalization easily. In sociological studies of the era, researchers found that a lack of income and socioeconomic standing was one area that limited a teen's ability to become well liked (or perhaps well liked by the "right" people—those in the middle class).[42] For students like Carolyn, the self-described "dull and shy" girl, the lack of financial resources meant a very real isolation, as her parents did not own a car to transport her to social functions. Regardless, the identified solution to marginalization that life adjustment education materials offered was individual adjustment rather than any critique of income inequality. Advocates of LAE also encouraged aspirational goals for students, namely, following the norms and behaviors of the advantaged members of society.

In some cases, like Therese's, the effects of economic hardship became visible as part of a student's appearance. Classroom teachers linked changes in appearance with increased likeability and a change in social status. Another teacher in Wisconsin described how a new student, Jane, entered the school as a "very shy, reserved girl" with a poor appearance. Her hair was seldom washed and was worn long in an unbecoming style. Her posture was "so bad it seemed beyond all correction and her complexion was not good. No one had ever taught her how to dress, so she put on any combination together and called it good." Most importantly, "Jane was so shy that if anyone tried to talk to her, she seemed ready to cry." As the class began its work on the first unit, "Getting Acquainted," each girl in the all-female class had to think of one thing to improve about herself. Jane chose to try and be friendlier. This attempt to adjust her personality improved every visible aspect of Jane's life, according to her teacher. Jane learned to sew, changed her hair, and worked well with her classroom partner. Everyone noticed her improvement, much to the teacher's satisfaction.[43] In this case, the teacher believed that in external appearance and in personal character, Jane had grown into a healthy individual.

For those who were not able-bodied, the challenge to fit in with peers was greater. While a student like Jane could develop better posture and improve her complexion, students with physical disabilities could not change their condition or measure their success by the same standards as other students. This was the case for a student from North Carolina whose feelings of isolation stemmed from her disability. Maude titled her essay "Improving My Personality" and recounted a tumultuous childhood as "the youngest of a very large family and the product of a broken home." She lived with relatives or friends of her mother and never "stayed at one place long enough to develop a feeling of 'belonging.'" Com-

pounding her challenges was a physical ailment that affected her posture, leading others to tease her and call her "old humpback." As a result, Maude felt isolated from her peers and recalled becoming outwardly hostile to them. Even after surgery to correct her spine, she still viewed herself as an outsider.

While continuing to feel marginalized by her physical challenges, Maude received a pamphlet titled *Making and Keeping Friends* in her high school home economics class. The pamphlet included a scorecard for "checking one's assets and liabilities." Each girl scored herself, and for the first time in her life, Maude reflected that she "seemed to have a real picture of [her]self." That awareness was not enough, however. She wanted to know why the other students did not like her. At Maude's request, the teacher allowed her to devote class time to discovering how the other girls felt about her. In her essay, Maude described the experience as beneficial. When she stood before the class, she was surprised to find that each girl had an answer for why she disliked Maude, including "you're too sensitive" and "you always have it out for someone." "On and on they went," Maude recounted, yet instead of being angry, she was relieved. "In a short time I had quite a bit of information that might serve as an index to my many faults. . . . It seemed as though a great burden had been lifted from my heart. At last I knew what I could do to help myself."[44] While readers will never know how Maude's life actually benefited from what she wrote in her essay, for educators, her story represented an ideal outcome. Maude changed her personality based on outside perspectives to become a mentally healthy teenager and other-directed citizen who could contribute to the creation of a stable society, regardless of physical challenges.

Perhaps the most pressing issue that adjustment education ignored was the racial divisions in American society. Life adjustment education materials rarely included images of people of color and did not address segregation. Although school desegregation was a contentious issue during the 1950s, filmstrips and textbooks tended to show white students interacting with one another. As historian of education Zoë Burkholder has argued, many teachers and much of the curriculum across a range of subjects sought to avoid the subject of race, and LAE materials were no different.[45]

Black educators took issue with LAE for setting artificial limits for black students by encouraging them to adjust to their situation rather than critiquing institutional practices that limited their opportunities. At William Penn High School for Girls in Philadelphia, a school for students of color, many of the young women were the first in their families to attend secondary school. According to historian Matthew Delmont, Penn's administrators in the late 1940s and early 1950s had been "influenced by the tenets of life adjustment education" and cited students' low IQ scores "as a rationale for eliminating the college-preparatory curriculum and counseling students into modified curricula in preparation for mechanical and manual work." While a common perception about the 1950s is that regions outside the South offered better opportunities for black Americans, only 20 percent of students at William Penn graduated each year from 1952 to

1958.[46] When a new school principal, Ruth Wright Hayre, took over, she created a program of college preparatory work that departed from the school's previous LAE-based vocational curriculum. According to Delmont, Hayre "was all too aware of how high school teachers tracked low-income students, students of color, and young women into courses that reproduced socio-economic stratification and limited their prospects for future employment or higher education."[47] From Hayre's perspective, programs that encouraged personal adjustment were reinforcing the status quo rather than addressing inequality.

In the early Cold War period, education experts and government officials saw young people as critically important for the current and future stability of the United States. Most significantly, young women's personality projects illustrate the political nature of education and of girlhood in the postwar era. Girls were expected to selflessly adjust to the society around them, cultivating skills that were essential to the larger project of creating a successful democracy. While some civic organizations and programs called on young people to assume the task of global friendship and understanding, efforts explored elsewhere in this volume, life adjustment education supporters prioritized the individual—his or her success, adjustment, and health—without engaging with the systemic problems in American society. For some students, this emphasis on self-improvement offered an opportunity for personal growth. For others, particularly those with marginalized identities, "adjustment" meant accepting that postwar prosperity in the United States did not include them. The LAE emphasis on self-improvement and personal adjustment ignored structural inequalities and potential discussions of activism and in this way offered superficial solutions to the complex problems of the post–World War II era. The U.S. Office of Education and leading vocational educators had their own understandings of LAE, which differed from the implementation of the reform in classrooms. Despite Studebaker's hope that LAE would create greater educational equality and a more democratic society, the life adjustment education program was not capable of dismantling the larger issues of structural inequality. In that regard, LAE was limited as a pedagogical reform.

Life adjustment education, particularly in the home economics field, trained teenagers in new ways of thought that emphasized civility, personal improvement, and relationship building. Home economics teachers emphasized the importance of their discipline in supporting healthy personality development and democratic familial relationships that would, in turn, make American society more stable. Evident in LAE reform is the central tension of consensus building, the tension between civility and equality. Life adjustment education ultimately prioritized civility.

Teenagers were the objects of LAE, but they were also active participants in the project of consensus building. Through discussions on behavior and expected norms, teenagers engaged in a process of self-improvement and in a larger process of negotiating societal expectations. American teens remade their own lives as they helped shape the consensus culture of the postwar era.

NOTES

1. "Annual Descriptive Report of the Missouri State Board for Vocational Education to the U.S. Office of Education (Jefferson City, Missouri)," box 16, RG 12, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Md. (hereafter NARA).
2. Wendy L. Wall, *Inventing the "American Way": The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5.
3. David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950).
4. See Marcia Chatelain, *South Side Girls: Growing Up in the Great Migration* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015); Thomas Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics: The Juvenilization of American Movies in the 1950s* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002); Thomas Hine, *Rise and Fall of the American Teenager* (New York: Bard, 1999); W. T. Lhamon, *Deliberate Speed: The Origins of a Cultural Style in the American 1950s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002); Leerom Medovi, *Rebels: Youth and the Cold War Origins of Identity* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005); Ilana Nash, *American Sweethearts: Teenage Girls in Twentieth-Century Popular Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Jason Reid, *Get Out of My Room! A History of Teen Bedrooms in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Kelly Schrum, *Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergence of Teenage Girls' Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); LaKisha Michelle Simmons, *Crescent City Girls: The Lives of Young Black Women in Segregated New Orleans* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); and Bradford W. Wright, *Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).
5. Grace Palladino, *Teenagers: An American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1996).
6. National Center for Educational Statistics and Thomas D. Snyder, *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993), fig. 7, 27.
7. Tracy L. Steffes, *School, Society, and State: A New Education to Govern Modern America, 1890–1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 100.
8. William G. Wraga, "From Slogan to Anathema: Historical Representations of Life Adjustment Education," *American Journal of Education* 116 (February 2010): 185–209.
9. After U.S. Office of Education Commissioner John Studebaker's retirement in 1949, Earl McGrath took over the position. McGrath appointed a second commission, yet he considered the work to belong more to his predecessor. The second commission completed a three-year term, but there were no further studies supported by the U.S. Office of Education. Other reformers maintained an interest in LAE. See Dorothy Elizabeth Broder, "Life Adjustment Education: An Historical Study of a Program of the United States Office of Education, 1945–1954" (PhD diss., Teachers College, Columbia University, 1976), 49.
10. Andrew Hartman addresses consensus-centric education in terms of politics and therapeutic culture, while Anne Marie Kordas broadens the discussion of other-directed socialization beyond formal schooling into other prescriptive sources. See Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Ann Marie Kordas, *The Politics of Childhood in Cold War America* (Brookfield, Vt.: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).
11. Although life adjustment education was intended to reach all students, and text-

book examples include boys and girls, almost all projects included in the descriptive reports of vocational education for home economics represent the experiences of teenage girls.

12. David Nasaw, *Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1916). According to Nasaw, when secondary schooling did become accessible to a wider portion of the population, the nature of the curriculum changed. Many middle-class reformers believed that prosperous families were likely to provide guidance and proper moral training to their children, while lower-class families were in need of intervention. Nasaw, *Schooled to Order*, 94.
13. Stephen Romine, "Areas and Objectives of Life Adjustment Education," in *Education for Life Adjustment: Its Meaning and Implementation*, ed. Harl R. Douglass (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1950), 49–50.
14. About 183,000 American children had lost their fathers in the war. William M. Tuttle, *Daddy's Gone to War: The Second World War in the Lives of American Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 44, 241. Wartime industries also employed women in vast numbers, potentially disrupting family patterns. The chairman of the War Manpower Commission estimated that 1.4 million women were employed in war production as early as December 1941. Other changes were also "disquieting and disrupting," particularly those stemming from economic issues: "Both sudden depression and quick prosperity confront the family and its members with changes in habits, attitudes, and roles which contribute to its instability" (Ernest W. Burgess, "The Effect of War on the American Family," *American Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 3 [1942]: 344, 351).
15. James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 25.
16. *Congressional Record,* Senate, 1945, https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/GPO-CRECB-1945-pt2/summary, 1411; Angela M. Evans, *A History of Federal Vocational Education Legislation in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 1975), 14.
17. Megan J. Elias, *Stir It Up: Home Economics in American Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
18. Helen A. Burnham, "High School Teachers as Counselors," *Journal of Home Economics,* May 1950, 357–58.
19. Harl R. Douglass, "Breaking with the Past," in Douglass, *Education for Life Adjustment*, 30, 32.
20. United States Office of Education, Division of Secondary Education and Division of Vocational Education, *Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1948), 11.
21. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 14.
22. J. Dan Hull, "Development of the Current Life Adjustment Movement," in Douglass, *Education for Life Adjustment*, 3.
23. Broder, "Life Adjustment Education," 36.
24. Bess Furman, "U.S. Scholarships Asked of Congress: Commissioner Urges Stronger Educational Program as a National Security Plan," *New York Times*, March 7, 1948, 52.
25. John W. McFarland, "A Study of the Implementation of Life Adjustment Education in One Hundred and Sixty-Nine Texas Secondary Schools" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1951).

26. William Dewey Murray, "An Appraisal of Life Adjustment Education Practices in Selected Secondary Schools of the Deep South" (PhD diss., University of Utah, 1953).
27. Helen Shacter, Gladys Gardner Jenkins, and W. W. Bauer, *Into Your Teens* (New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1954), 339.
28. Ibid., 91.
29. Helen Shacter, Gladys Gardner Jenkins, and W. W. Bauer, *Teen-Agers* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1954), 79.
30. Florence L. Meredith, Leslie W. Irwin, and Wesley M. Staton, *Health and Fitness*, 3rd ed. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1957), 357.
31. *Shy Guy*, dir. Ted Peshak (1947). *Shy Guy* was created with the collaboration of Alice Sowers, PhD, director of the Family Life Institute at the University of Oklahoma.
32. "Teacher-Committee Evaluation of New Films," *Educational Screen* 26, no. 8 (1947): 440.
33. Meredith, Irwin, and Staton, *Health and Fitness*, 346.
34. William C. Menninger, *Making and Keeping Friends* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1952), 5.
35. State of Iowa Board for Vocational Education, "Annual Descriptive Report for Vocational Education, 1947–1948," box 9, RG 12, n.p., NARA.
36. "Annual Descriptive Report of the State Board for Vocational Education to the Federal Security Agency U.S. Office of Education, Department of Public Instruction, North Carolina," 1954, box 20, RG 12, NARA.
37. On the methodological implications of using prescriptive sources to understand private life, see Jay Mechling, "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers," *Journal of Social History* 9, no. 1 (1975): 44–63.
38. See Kevin Schultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
39. Menninger, *Making and Keeping Friends*, 34, emphasis in original.
40. Shacter, Gardner Jenkins, and Bauer, *Teen-Agers*, 79.
41. State Homemaking Staff, Wisconsin State Board of Vocational and Adult Education, "Annual Homemaking Education Descriptive Report to the U.S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency 1954–55," 28, Report Series 12, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis.
42. James Coleman, *The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), 11–12.
43. State Homemaking Staff, "Annual Homemaking Education Descriptive Report," 32.
44. "Annual Descriptive Report of the State Board for Vocational Education to the Federal Security Agency U.S. Office of Education, Department of Public Instruction, North Carolina," 1952, box 20, NARA.
45. Zoë Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom: How American Schools Taught Race, 1900–1954* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
46. Matthew Delmont, "'The Plight of the 'Able Student': Ruth Wright Hayre and the Struggle for Equality in Philadelphia's Black High Schools, 1955–1965," *History of Education Quarterly* 50 (2010): 209.
47. Ibid., 205.

PART 2
YOUTH ACTIVISM AND MIDCENTURY RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

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Gender, Civic Fitness, and Disability in Post–World War II American Youth Organizations

JENNIFER HELGREN

In the 1960s, *Boys' Life*, the monthly periodical of the Boy Scouts of America, published a biographical story that gave disability center stage. A high school academic counselor had told Wayne Thompson, who had cerebral palsy, to accept that he would never be "normal" and to "face the reality of his impairment." The reader learned that this was "standard patter," which usually made sense "for the handicapped or impaired," but that Wayne was different. "He was not as severely handicapped as most," and, importantly, he was "not stupid." According to *Boys' Life*, Wayne had overcome the stigma surrounding cerebral palsy to become a competitive gymnast at Florida State University, where he dated "some of the most popular girls on campus." With stories like Wayne's, the Boy Scouts urged greater tolerance and acceptance of bodies marked as disabled. At the same time, *Boys' Life* reified a gendered and ableist message of independence and self-reliance when emphasizing Wayne's heteronormative masculinity and his body, which overcame impairment and succeeded in athletics and dating. Boy Scout editors suggested that the young man's capabilities commanded respect, as he was distinguished from other disabled people who, the story suggested, were more "severely handicapped" and perhaps "stupid."[1]

Using oral histories of former youth organization participants who have disabilities, as well as publications from three major youth organizations (the Boy Scouts of America, the Girl Scouts of the USA, and the Camp Fire Girls of America), this chapter examines the efforts of these organizations to include disabled youth in the two and a half decades after World War II. Focusing on youth organizations reshapes our understanding of political spaces as the lines of civic belonging were drawn and redrawn within them. Historians and other scholars have amply documented the importance of twentieth-century youth organizations to the production of gender norms for boys and girls. While this scholarship has also addressed class, race, and age, historians have directed little attention to youth with disabilities.[2] As disability scholars Douglas C. Baynton and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson argue, disabled people have been assigned an in-

ferior and childlike status of dependence.[3] Postwar societal perceptions cast children without physical and mental disabilities as maturing toward full civil and political rights, while those with perceived disabilities were often denied those rights even as adults.[4] Youth organizations' efforts challenged these perceptions by including children with disabilities in separate groups at first. However, organizers increasingly integrated disabled with nondisabled children at a time when segregation and medicalization were the norms in the treatment of children with disabilities.[5]

Youth organizations, along with many educators, caregivers, and community leaders, promoted tolerance and inclusion in the postwar period as a guarantor of democracy and peace and as a marker of American exceptionalism. In that process, adults marshaled images of children and youth with disabilities to support—consciously or not—a nascent politics of "ablenationalism." Ablenationalism employs, as Sami Schalk writes, "the rhetorical and representational use of the inclusion of disabled people as symbolic of the superior and exceptional modern nation."[6] Although postwar organizations' sympathetic representations of disabled youth dismantled some negative misperceptions about disabilities, they also reinscribed the category of disability. As Garland-Thomson writes, the cultural images of disabled figures can "simultaneously confirm and challenge the received definition of physical disability as bodily inadequacy."[7]

Moreover, organizations' emphasis on gendered understandings of self-reliance and caregiving resulted in a hierarchical concept of civic fitness, the constellation of qualities that historically determine who is fit to participate fully as a citizen in American society. Boys who mastered skills and persevered despite hardship and girls who performed acts of kindness and service while maintaining a cheerful attitude qualified as national insiders, potential friends, and equals.[8] Gender-conforming and able-disabled children—those who can fit in without radically altering ableist structures and assumptions—found acceptance, while the mentally and more severely physically disabled were marginalized.[9] Youth organization leaders cast children with disabilities, especially the able disabled, as useful models of civic fitness and targets for service for their peers. Representations of inclusion, however, remained selective; through the nearly exclusive use of images featuring white, middle-class children with certain disabilities, these organizations normalized a narrow representation of people with disabilities.[10]

Early Inclusion Efforts

Inclusion reflected the long-standing mission statements of youth organizations, which pledged, as the Camp Fire Girls did, to make the organization "available to all girls."[11] Although these goals were clearly aspirational and unevenly and only gradually carried out, youth organizations championed acceptance of children with disabilities alongside their claims that tolerance toward people of different races, classes, and religions marked good citizenship. In the

1910s, these major youth organizations sponsored clubs in residential institutions for blind, deaf, and so-called crippled children. In some cases, children became disabled after joining a Scout troop and simply continued participation.[12] Several Scouting leaders themselves experienced disabilities, which may have increased their sympathy. Juliette Low, the Girl Scouts' founder, was deaf; James West, the first Boy Scout executive, limped as a result of childhood tuberculosis; and Luther Gulick, the Camp Fire and Boy Scout organizer, suffered debilitating childhood headaches.

Youth leaders believed that children with disabilities could benefit from participating in their program activities, finding self-confidence and a sense of social responsibility through their identification with a national organization. The leader of a group at the Lighthouse School for blind children proudly pointed to the ability of the Camp Fire Girls at the school to dance, play games together, and cook. A Camp Fire Girl at the Van Leuven Browne Hospital School for children with physical disabilities in Detroit agreed. Although she and her peers did not go on hikes, she insisted, "There are lots of other Camp Fire things we can do." She wore "regular uniforms" and earned Camp Fire honor beads for accomplishments in activities ranging from homemaking to outdoor craft.[13]

Sympathetic representations were intended to strip away negative misperceptions surrounding disability and to promote a service-minded model of youth citizenship. Youth organization literature suggested that children learned from those regarded as different. Interaction would challenge stereotypes and prompt nondisabled children to reflect on their achievements and efforts, while those with special needs would learn more about how to interact in society beyond the institutions for the disabled.[14]

Postwar Tolerance

In the two and a half decades after World War II, youth organizations built upon these early practices and turned new attention to children with disabilities. Leaders increased efforts to establish integrated groups. In the late 1950s, the Boy Scouts reported that it had 250 Scouting units of "physically handicapped boys" at hospitals and special schools. Many more boys with disabilities joined regular Scouting units with boys not classified as disabled. In the early 1960s, the Boy Scouts initiated a global fund-raising campaign to better serve Scouts with disabilities.[15]

In 1948, the Girl Scouts formed an advisory committee—chaired by the industrial engineer, psychologist, and mother of twelve Lillian Moller Gilbreth—on the integration of Scouts with disabilities into regular units. Gilbreth, involved with vocational rehabilitation efforts of disabled veterans since World War I, was at that time working to improve the conditions of disabled homemakers.[16] By the 1950s, the Girl Scouts had troops in deaf and blind institutions, as well as mental hospitals and children's hospitals. The organization counted four thousand troops that integrated children with disabilities into Scouting and over

five hundred camps that served seventeen hundred campers with handicaps.[17] Although the Camp Fire Girls provided no official count of its members with disabilities, it too noted that Camp Fire Girl groups could be found at "training and correctional schools, schools for the blind and deaf, schools for the mentally retarded and institutions for the orthopedically handicapped." Groups of girls with disabilities within local communities also adopted the Camp Fire program, and other girls participated as individual "members of 'a normal group.'"[18] The Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls both published handbooks for leaders of clubs with disabled girls and increased the number of articles in leaders' magazines dedicated to the subject. Youth organization staff sent many of these leadership guides and service reports to the White House Conference on Children and Youth as evidence of their core values of diversity and inclusion.

These inclusion policies signaled larger cultural shifts in the United States after the Second World War toward embracing tolerance as an indicator of American democracy. The fight against fascism and the emerging Cold War rivalry with the Soviet Union brought introspection and calls from educators, social scientists, and the U.S. State Department for greater displays of tolerance.[19] Girls' organizations worked to carry out their aspirational mission statements with new vigor. The Girl Scouts began to racially desegregate its southern troops and local camps, and Camp Fire established a committee to systematically promote interaction across racial, religious, and class lines. In urging more diverse Camp Fire groups at the local level, director Martha Allen said, "We can make friends for democracy and render it an essential service by making democracy work at least in our own organization."[20] Such efforts, undertaken with genuine interest in assuring democracy, served also to promote an image of American superiority in benevolence and human rights.

The Second World War and the Cold War also brought attitudinal and policy shifts related to disability, all of which made youth organizations' decision to include children with disabilities tenable. The eugenics movement in the United States declined after the war (though sterilizations remained all too common until the 1970s). The return of veterans with disabilities, the success with which people with disabilities had entered the wartime workforce, and the ongoing presence of children stricken with polio and other childhood illnesses raised awareness of the contributions of the disabled population. Parent groups and individual activists began to challenge the assumption that families were better off when separate schools and hospitals took charge of their children.[21] Youth organizations followed their lead.

Cold War Fitness

The promotion of rights for disabled youth served Cold War political aims in other ways. Many liberal Americans embraced diversity as an indicator of American democracy. American educators and government leaders too sought

to ensure a physically and mentally fit citizenry to compete with the Soviet Union. Youth organizations argued that they could promote the physical, emotional, and mental health of any child—disabled and nondisabled alike—who took part in their programs.

Broad-based concerns that American youth were less fit than their contemporaries abroad led President Eisenhower to hold the first President's Conference on the Fitness of American Youth in 1956 and to establish the President's Council on Youth Fitness.[22] Through an awareness campaign, the council promoted physical exercise among American youth and parental support for physical education in schools and youth programs. It led to the formation of thirty-two state fitness councils by 1963.[23] In his message to the conference participants, Eisenhower explained the nation's interest in youth fitness: "National policies will be no more than words if our people are not healthy of body, as well as of mind, putting dynamism and leadership into the carrying out of major decisions. Our young people must be physically as well as mentally and spiritually prepared for American citizenship."[24]

The early Cold War youth fitness imperative meshed with youth organization aims. Although sporting competitions such as the Olympics became important venues to showcase national strength, and Eisenhower called for more competitive sports for children, youth organizations responded to these federal and state initiatives with calls for a wider range of recreational activities. They supported camping and other less competitive recreational activities for all, not for the athletically talented alone.[25] Such policies opened doors for some children with disabilities. For these children, youth organizations touted participation as fostering independence and confidence. As a press release about new Boy Scout and Camp Fire groups at the Charles Whitton School for the Physically Handicapped in Oakland stated, their activities were "especially important" because the youngsters' disabilities "deprive them of many other childish accomplishments."[26]

In this way, Scouting addressed growing national concerns about the psychological fitness of American youth in the 1950s and 1960s. The idea that Scouting built self-esteem and helped children fit in with their peers featured prominently in the evaluative materials that the Girl Scouts and the Boy Scouts sent to the planners of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. Both the 1950 and 1960 conferences were dedicated to the development of healthy personalities. In one article, longtime Boy Scout executive Harry K. Eby noted that boys with disabilities benefited from Scouting because "they enjoyed the opportunity of associating with other boys, and were proud to be Scouts." Just as important, Eby noted, Scouting strengthened the boy's character as he learned "the patience or perseverance needed to meet a requirement." Like all Scouts, boys with disabilities gained the "ability to do things for themselves and others" as they developed "patriotism, courage, self-reliance, and kindred virtues."[27] Girls' organizations stressed the "development of individuals in relation

to the group." Since girls with disabilities were regularly "overlooked," joining a troop—either an integrated one or one affiliated with an institution for children with disabilities—promised "a special joy in 'belonging.'"[28]

Moreover, many adults viewed Scouting and related organizations as ways to channel youth interests toward productive leisure in order to keep youth civically fit and to avoid what Girl Scout officials labeled "social handicaps." Martha Allen expressed concern that Cold War youth lacked physical, emotional, and moral stamina, resulting in "increased delinquency, greater incidence of tensions, anxiety, and emotional disorders" and a breakdown in young people's "initiative and sense of personal duty." Many adults also worried that juvenile delinquency, sexual promiscuity, homosexuality, and drug use sapped young people's resolve to stand against communism. Although the Girl Scouts primarily sought to "keep normal children normal," its leaders embraced "the rehabilitation of the delinquent girl" to make such girls civically fit "contributing members of a community."[29] Youth organizations worked to keep the nation's youth physically and mentally strong. Their efforts to increase the civic fitness of American youth merged concerns related to youth health, delinquency, disability, and political threats to the nation.

Experiences of Children with Disabilities in Youth Organizations

Interviews show that young people with disabilities had mixed experiences in youth organizations. Many built confidence and skills and found belonging with their peer group, reflecting the stated aspirations of youth organization officials. The Scouting program led to an improved sense of pride and self-confidence for David Stayer, president of the Greater Long Island chapter of the National Federation of the Blind of New York State. He participated in a Boy Scout troop at the New York Institute for the Education of the Blind, a boarding school in the Bronx, during his four years of high school in the 1950s. He remembers that the troop "helped me as a blind youngster" to recognize that "I could do things. . . . I could start to stretch what I could do." The boys learned new skills and camped in a local park together. David earned merit badges in swimming, knot tying, and cooking. He was surprised to find that he was good at cooking and has continued to enjoy the skill throughout his life.[30]

Mary Lee Turner, a Camp Fire Girl in Portland, Oregon, in the late 1950s, associated the Camp Fire Girls with comfort and inclusion. A twin, she and her sister were the first blind children in the Portland public schools, and the school officials failed to teach Turner, who had limited sight, to read in either print or Braille. She found school oppressive, but "Camp Fire was a relief from school." In contrast to her schoolteachers, her Camp Fire leaders "were interested in what we were doing." She missed out on some of the Camp Fire activities when her doctor recommended avoiding overnight camp due to the fragility of her retinas. During her high school years, she disregarded those concerns and enrolled

in a counselor in leadership training program at a YWCA camp on the Oregon coast and then became a Camp Fire camp counselor in Colorado and Massachusetts in 1967 and 1968. As far as she knew, she was the only camp counselor with a disability during those summers. She recalls that the other counselors fully accepted her and assigned her to the job of archery instructor despite her vision impairment.[31]

Disability rights activist Judith Heumann's integrated Girl Scout troop meant access to and the opportunity to participate in girlhood activities. Heumann contracted polio as a toddler and used a wheelchair. "I [still] participated in everything that we did in the neighborhood," she explains. "I was in Brownies . . . [and] later I was in Girl Scouts." She remembers that the troop found ways to include her. In a game called Pick Up, girls stood in two rows facing each other. Each child would have a number, and when her number was called, she would race for an item in the middle of the two rows. Heumann says, "So they pushed my chair out and picked it up. I did everything."

Youth organizations, however, failed to grapple with structural and environmental exclusions, and ableist structures prevented the full integration of children with disabilities. For instance, to enter the chapel where Heumann's Brownie meetings were held required ascending a short staircase. Her mother had to pull her wheelchair up those three or four steps. Still, it was not until an excursion to an ice-skating rink that Heumann felt the sting of exclusion. The rink staff said her wheelchair could not go in the ice-skating rink. She remembers, "It was the first time that I had ever not participated in an activity in Brownies or Girl Scouts."[32] While the Girl Scouts had provided Heumann with a sense of belonging, the club still frequented facilities that marginalized people with disabilities.

Inaccessible meeting locations drove some girls out of youth organizations. As a teenager in the late 1950s, Ellen Rubin lost her sight around the same time that her family relocated from Roosevelt, New Jersey, to Baltimore. Her parents had hoped that she would meet new friends by joining a youth organization. At the first meeting, however, she fell down the stairs. Believing that she would be defined as "the girl who fell down the stairs," she did not return.[33] In the 1950s, few group leaders appreciated the problems of inaccessible locations or attempted to remedy them.

Gender and the Able Disabled

In addition to their lack of attention to ableist structures, many youth leaders remained focused on "what . . . having Scouts with handicaps in their troops means" for the civic fitness of nondisabled girls and boys. Leaders argued that youth with disabilities were critical to the character development of *all* youth, and they publicized images of youth with disabilities who successfully adhered to 1950s and 1960s gender norms within Scouting to demonstrate the positive influence of these children. These images not only symbolized the possibility

for disabled children to participate fully within Scouting but also reminded able-bodied children of standards of conduct and achievements expected of all children.

Boys signaled their civic fitness as they kept themselves, in accordance with the Boy Scout oath, "physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight." Such attributes prepared a boy to serve his nation and community and readied him for leadership as "a statesman or cabinet member" or head of "a large business enterprise." Girls' organizations promoted the need for girls to build their health through active play and camping, while citizenship activities stressed relationships and promised to help girls become "more friendly, generous, and cooperative."[34]

Youth organizations presented some youth with disabilities as extraordinary exemplars for other members. Disabilities scholars such as Richard J. Altenbaugh refer to this as the "supercrip" phenomenon. At times, the person with a disability is characterized as a hero for completing ordinary tasks. In other cases, the individual performs at a superb, even superhuman level and receives accolades and recognition but at the same time sets unrealistic expectations as to what a person with disabilities should be expected to do, usually without accommodations.[35] Boy Scout Don Lee, who lost both of his legs as a toddler but went on to participate in a local integrated Scout troop, for example, received effusive praise from Scout officials for his many merit badges and awards.[36] National press coverage was more exuberant when Don earned the Eagle Scout rank in 1949, and although he wore prosthetics, he was widely praised as the first "legless boy" to make Eagle. The *Salt Lake Tribune* claimed that he had "done almost the impossible" in earning Eagle. Another story stressed Don's extraordinary willpower and the grit that enabled him to "fight through every test, including the 14-mile hike and swimming requirements."[37]

The supercrip theme was especially prevalent in depictions of disabled boys, but it appeared in girls' organizations too. About the ever-present recommendations to read and learn about Helen Keller, for example, a legally blind former Camp Fire Girl explained that while Keller was inspirational, sighted people also pointed to her extraordinary accomplishments as if to question the more limited achievements of others with impaired sight.[38] Girls with disabilities, too, were held up as exemplars who overcame tremendous odds to participate in Girl Scout and Camp Fire Girl activities. A Girl Scout text described Nancy, a deaf girl who attended a mainstream Girl Scout camp, as breaking through the "impenetrable wall of silence" to join hearing girls at camp. Girl Scout literature celebrated her for being able to "sling a jungle hammock" and dig a pit latrine quicker than all the others. The Girl Scouts especially highlighted her skill in dancing and helping others to dance by feeling the rhythms through the floor.[39] The deaf girl, then, performed Scouting activities exceeding leaders' expectations, and she maintained appropriate feminine attributes by excelling in dance and helping the group.

Clear standards of accomplishment in both boys' and girls' organizations generally applied to youth equally, regardless of disability. Some Scouts appreciated that the standards did not shift. Stayer recalls his pride in earning merit badges: "It just wasn't given, so you had to prove you could do it."[40] Still, Boy Scout officials and the media went out of their way to assure the public that Boy Scouts with disabilities had no special treatment. They therefore maintained the identification of Boy Scouts with masculine mastery, and disabled members became, like Don Lee, exemplars of fitness. Boy Scout literature acknowledged that "ingenuity" might be necessary to make Scouting possible for boys with physical disabilities but stressed that Scouts with disabilities did more or better than their peers. Eby explained that when Ronnie Saunders, a blind Scout from Culver City, California, earned the award for bird knowledge, he "wasn't babied nor was the work made easy for him."[41] When Ronnie earned Eagle in 1947, *Boys' Life* editors asserted that "each merit badge counselor purposely gave Ronnie just as stiff an examination as he would any other Scout."[42]

The Camp Fire Girls and the Girl Scouts allowed for greater adaptability within program activities, even though they, like the Boy Scouts, did not change individual honor bead and badge requirements. Organization texts encouraged leaders to accept that there were many ways to complete the same task. They also suggested that girls assist one another to make Scouting activities accessible for girls who lacked mobility. Girl Scouts who were confined to a bed, for example, participated in nature activities by making terrariums with items troop members gathered for them.[43] The Camp Fire Girls' basic program was flexible, and girls chose activities from a wide selection of feasible exercises instead of completing a series of progressive requirements. Any girl could earn honor beads according to her proclivities and talents, a standard that was already inclusive.

Boys' and girls' organizations also made children with disabilities into models of fortitude and positivity for nondisabled children to emulate. Boy Scout leaders explained that disabled children pushed all boys to new levels of success. Eby reported that when Jean, a boy with cerebral palsy, attended a mainstream Chicago Boy Scout camp in the 1950s, he not only passed his swim test but also pushed the rest of the campers to new levels of success. More boys learned to swim during Jean's camp session than at all the other sessions that summer. Scouting officials declared Jean an inspiration to the other boys. Eby presented competition among the boys, who did not want to be outranked by a child with disabilities, as bringing about a "higher morale."[44]

Girls' leaders, by contrast, deemphasized sporting competition and cautioned instead that the self-esteem of girls with disabilities was fragile.[45] One girls' camp, then, saw behavior quite distinct from that of the Chicago boys. When a few girls with cerebral palsy were allowed to skip a hike, the nondisabled girls reportedly lobbied for exemption as well. These same girls asked the counselors to do their hair when they did the hair of the girls with impaired arm

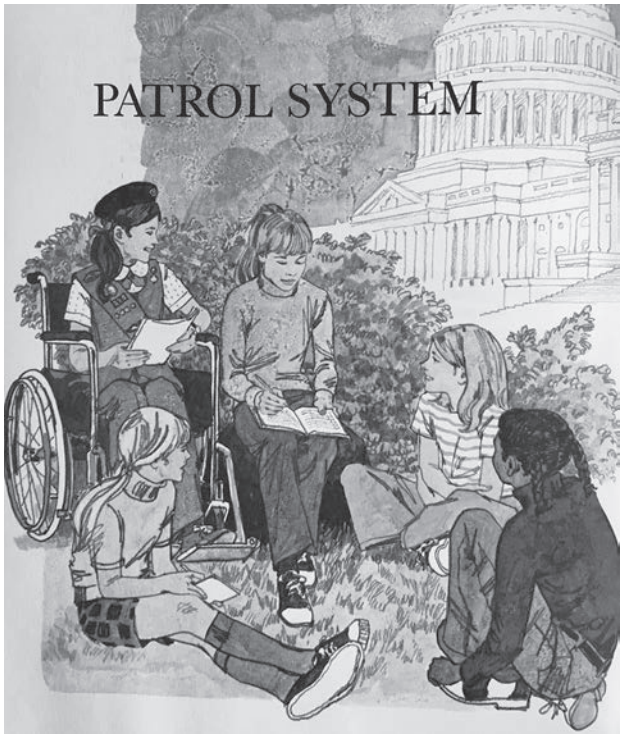
movements.[46] These nondisabled girls sought the same level of attention from the counselors.

Rather than athletic feats, girls performed affective labor, the work of producing and managing emotions through acts of cheerfulness, care, and comfort, work that promotes social networks and community. The Camp Fire Girls' law even called on them to "Be Happy" among its other prescriptions. As Anastasia Todd writes, when a disabled girl fits in and acts cheerful, "the uncomfortableness and so-called problem of disability is contained, individualized, and depoliticized through happy affect." The girl acquires value as she performs gender properly, smiling and accepting the daily struggles her disability presents without demanding structural changes or aid.[47] She also sent a clandestine message to nondisabled girls: if she could act cheerfully, they certainly could do so as well.

Open hearts were as important for girls as skill mastery was for boys. A Girl Scout brochure noted how girls without disabilities benefited by interacting with their disabled peers: "It increases *their* sense of belonging too, by enlarging not only their horizons, but their hearts."[48] In 1954, when Girl Scouts from the Longview Mental Hospital joined regular Scouts at a local summer camp, the regular campers "learned to be even more helpful, courteous, [and] friendly than before." Although girls in camp units without Longview girls sometimes spoke unkindly, the *Girl Scout Leader* assured readers that the girls in integrated units defended disabled peers, and "not once did they tease our girls or poke fun at them."[49]

Tensions did arise, however. One fourth-grade Girl Scout with cerebral palsy in an integrated troop complained that "some of the girls weren't that friendly," but Girl Scout literature glossed over tensions to depict interactions in positive terms.[50] When a camper with cerebral palsy went home early from camp feeling homesick, the camp counselor dismissed discrimination as a possible cause and quoted a nondisabled camper who mysteriously asserted, "We all liked her, but she said we hated her."[51] The article's author did not investigate the homesick camper's feelings of exclusion but instead accepted the assertion of her peer. The Girl Scouts maintained that children without disabilities "discover" that a girl with special needs is "just like anybody else," and "no one in her troop shuns her."[52]

The focus in girls' organizations on emotional competence was potentially at odds with special education experts' call for self-reliance. Some girls learned the lessons in kindness and service so well that their leaders feared that they might undermine disabled girls' development of independence and their sense of usefulness. One Girl Scout staffer reported that at mealtimes at integrated camps, campers excessively doted on the girls with disabilities. A guidebook for leaders further warned, "There is a danger of the troop's attempting to do too much for a girl who may be included as an honorary member, rather than accepting her as one of the troop and giving her opportunities to develop her own initiative."[53] Still, these representations of group harmony cohered with the empha-



The Girl Scouts' 1963 handbook included images of diverse girls taking part in Scouting activities together as equals. Girl Scouts, *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* (New York: Girl Scouts of the USA, 1963), 38. Used by permission of Girl Scouts of the USA.

sis in girls' groups on feminine cheerfulness and care. Girls' civic fitness rested more on emotion and fitting in than on skill mastery.

Objects of Service

Even as the Boy Scouts of America, the Girl Scouts, and the Camp Fire Girls integrated youth with disabilities into local groups, into the 1960s—with few exceptions—they portrayed youth with disabilities as cheerful targets of service rather than as civic agents in their own right. Handbooks, when they included people with disabilities, most often depicted them as recipients of service. The 1946 *Book of the Camp Fire Girls* featured no pictures of girls with visible disabilities, although one illustration showed Camp Fire Girls visiting a hospitalized younger boy. The citizenship section of the manual advised members to interact with disabled people through service by "helping a younger or handicapped child to and from school for 1 month" or by "reading to a hospital patient or other shut-in regularly." Similarly, the Boy Scouts' postwar handbook included an image of boys who, doing their good turn daily, visited a hospital-

A Camp Fire Girl visits a girl in a wheelchair as part of her service project. *Camp Fire Girl* 37, no. 3 (November 1957): 2. Printed with permission of Camp Fire.

ized peer. (It is not clear if he was a Scout himself.) The Girl Scouts' 1963 junior high handbook alone featured a smiling Girl Scout in a wheelchair meeting with her troop in a regular troop setting.[54] Too often, disabled youth stood for their disability and the opportunity they provided for able-bodied youth to engage in service.

Nondisabled girls took on service tasks as part of a larger gendered caretaking role. A 1957 issue of the *Camp Fire Girl* included a photo of sixteen-year-old Betty Chicky kneeling beside a girl in a wheelchair. The caption and accompanying article leave the girl with disabilities unnamed and therefore reduce her to her condition as a "young polio victim," all while they champion the service aspect of the Camp Fire program.[55] Organization texts depicted the children who received service as happy and grateful. They performed affective labor, assuring readers that service was needed and appreciated. The broad grins of the "young polio victim" and of Becky illustrate the expectation that the disabled girl will accept her situation, while the able-bodied girl will voluntarily tend to others' needs. The nondisabled girl's empowerment as a citizen through her voluntary private service reified a hierarchy of civic fitness that placed her above

her peer in a wheelchair. At the same time, both girls are shown to be cheerful, an appearance that draws attention away from the frustration that structural and social inequalities produce.

The familial language of adoption further connected girls' caretaking roles to their service as citizens. Local clubs "adopted" other children with disabilities when they committed to long-term service projects to help them. In one typical project, Roslindale, Massachusetts, girls "adopted" an immigrant girl from Portugal who resided at the North Reading Sanatorium for tubercular children. They visited her and brought her homemade paper dolls and Christmas presents.[56] In a similar effort, nondisabled Girl Scouts assisted with the cookout of a troop of girls who had cerebral palsy and then decided to "adopt the wheelchair group." Although the Girl Scout magazine used the term "sisterhood" to characterize the relationship, the term "adopt" depicted disabled "adoptees" as needy and dependent, while the nondisabled Scouts were charitable caregivers.[57] The "adopted" girl with disabilities enabled the civic fitness of girls' organization members but was not recognized for her own citizenship achievements.

Boy Scouts, too, provided service. Their law reminded them that "a Scout is courteous" and then listed others to whom Scouts ought to be especially polite: "women, children, old people and the weak and helpless."[58] The conflation of marginalized peoples reminded the able-bodied Scout of his duty to protect, as well as his superiority to those deemed to be less civically fit. In this light, the few articles and notices in *Boys' Life* about boys' service, including a description of Boy Scouts delivering toys to "crippled children," remind the reader of the hierarchy of civic fitness, on which able-bodied Boy Scouts ranked highest. In a story about Boy Scouts who share toys and games with a crippled children's home, these children are conspicuously absent, as the story's attention focuses on the good feeling that the Scouts get from helping and the good publicity that runs in the local papers.[59]

As youth organizations began to broaden the category of civic fitness, however, they also tried to present children with disabilities as fellow citizens, potential friends, and equal members. Girl Scout literature stressed working alongside girls with disabilities and not merely doing things for them. Joan Carter, Girl Scout advisor to troops for girls with disabilities, recounted how a nondisabled Clarksburg, Massachusetts, Girl Scout visited and tried to do something daily for a girl with cerebral palsy. After a year of visits, the girl joined Girl Scouts. In this instance, receiving service led to full membership.[60]

Scouts with disabilities also engaged in service. For these Scouts, raising awareness about people with disabilities was itself regarded as a form of service. Stayer recalls that his troop at the New York Institute for the Education of the Blind demonstrated Braille reading to sighted Scouts at local Scouting jamborees and also showed their skills in cooking and auto machinery to local high school students. Indicating that the exhibits served their purpose, Stayer recollects the surprise of sighted students who "did not think we could do it"

when they saw that the boys with impaired vision had rebuilt an auto engine.[61] Through these Boy Scout service projects, youth themselves could challenge assumptions about their capabilities and make their own claims to civic fitness.

As the editors to this volume note, children and young people, as well as their representations, were central to many of the political movements of the latter half of the twentieth century. The nascent disability rights movement was no exception. New ideas about civic belonging were forged via children and youth as the category of citizen expanded to include many children with disabilities. The major youth organizations increasingly included and integrated into their programs children with disabilities, and they did so before the disability rights movement took the nation by storm in the late 1960s and 1970s. Children with disabilities—especially those whose disabilities did not prevent them from otherwise participating in Scouting activities—began to appear among the images of healthy, happy American children who might help validate the American political and economic system during the early Cold War. Although youth themselves did not instigate these changes, they offered stirring symbols of the nation's tolerance, and they took advantage of the spaces opening up for them in the unique political moment of the 1950s and 1960s.

Children with disabilities experienced youth organizations in diverse ways. Some found them positive environments in which to build confidence and skills. Others recall how ableist structures and assumptions limited their full involvement. Children with disabilities who could fit youth organizations' norms of behavior and achievement became civic insiders, even exemplars, while ableist ideologies cohered with heteronormative, gender-appropriate expectations to continue to marginalize many children with disabilities. Youth organizations contributed to the formation of hierarchies of civic fitness that both were gendered and represented mentally disabled children and those with severe physical impairments as mere recipients of service.

In the 1960s and 1970s, youth organization efforts expanded further, building on the experiences of the postwar decades and responding to the pressing voices within the disability rights movement. While the disability rights movement undoubtedly was the central influence in these changes, the willingness of youth organizations to identify tolerance and inclusion as key values for American boys and girls in earlier decades provided a fertile area in youth work for a more expansive idea of civic fitness.

NOTES

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37. *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 17, 1951, 107; "Eagle Scout Badge Awarded Legless Salt Lake City Youth," *Reading Eagle*, October 27, 1949, 48.
38. For youth organizations' recommendations, see Sally Barrell, "How Much Can One Count?," *Camp Fire Girl* 30, no. 4 (December 1950): 15. The film *The Miracle Worker*

was released to U.S. audiences in 1962, making Helen Keller's story more ubiquitous. Mary Lee Turner, oral history by Chancey Fleet, December 30, 2014, New York Public Library, oralhistory.nypl.org/interviews/mary-lee-turner-jy9ozl.

39. Yoffa and Lloyd, "Camping Together," 2.
40. Stayer interview.
41. Macleod explains that the Boy Scouts of America resisted changing rank requirements (*Building Character*, 157). See also Eby, "Scouting with Physically Handicapped Boys," 2–3.
42. *Boys' Life* 37 (November 1947): 43.
43. In Britain, as in the United States, girl groups were more open to adaptation to accommodate disabilities. See Sophie Wittemans, "The Double Concept of Citizen and Subject at the Heart of Guiding and Scouting," in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, ed. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 67; Girl Scouts, *Working with the Handicapped*, 50–51.
44. Eby, "Scouting with Physically Handicapped Boys," 1–2.
45. Yoffa and Lloyd, "Camping Together," 2. See also Girl Scouts, *Working with the Handicapped*, 26.
46. Joan Carter, "Camping Together: Handicapped and Non-handicapped Girl Scouts," reprinted from *Exceptional Children* 21, no. 1 (October 1954): 2–3, box 166, Girl Scouts of the USA (5), White House Conference on Children and Youth Records, 1930–70, EL.
47. Anastasia Todd, "Disabled Girlhood and Flexible Exceptionalism in HBO's *Miss You Can Do It," Girlhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 9, no. 1 (2016): 26. See also K. Fritsch, "The Neoliberal Circulation of Affects: Happiness, Accessibility, and the Capacitation of Disability as Wheelchair," *Health, Culture, and Society* 5, no. 1 (2013): 135–49.
48. Girl Scouts, *The Other Sister* (New York: Girl Scouts USA, 1956), pamphlet, box 167, Girl Scouts of the USA (6), White House Conference on Children and Youth Records, 1930–70, EL, emphasis in original.
49. Dorothy Tomlin and Margaret B. Geier, "They Grew in Wisdom," reprinted from *Girl Scout Leader*, n.d., box 167, Girl Scouts of the USA (5), White House Conference on Children and Youth Records, 1930–70, EL.
50. Bobbi Linn, Interview by Denise Sherer Jacobson, *Disability Rights and Independent Living Movement Oral History Project*, vol. III, 2001, transcript 2003, p. 145, New York Activists and Leaders in the Disability Rights and Independent Living Movement, oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb5n39n7m6&brand=oac4&doc.view=entire_text.
51. Carter, "Camping Together," 3.
52. Eleanor D. Lloyd, "Scouting's Silver Lining," reprinted from *American Girl*, box 166, Girl Scouts of the USA (5), White House Conference on Children and Youth Records, 1930–70, EL.
53. Carter, "Camping Together," 3; Girl Scouts, *Working with the Handicapped*, 90.
54. Camp Fire Girls, *Book of the Camp Fire Girls* (1946), 229, 233, 240; Girl Scouts, *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* (New York: Girl Scouts of the USA, 1953), 38; and Boy Scouts, *Handbook for Boys* (1948), 23.
55. Betty Chicky, "What Horizon Club Has Meant to Me," *Camp Fire Girl* 37, no. 3 (November 1957): 2.
56. Scrapbook and Journal of Tankuloka Camp Fire, Roslindale, Mass., 1943–47, Novem-

ber 1945, carton 2, folder 62, Camp Fire Council for Eastern Massachusetts Records, Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

57. Laura Vitray, "Silver Lining," reprinted from *Girl Scout Leader*, n.d., box 166, Girl Scouts of the USA (5), White House Conference on Children and Youth Records, 1930–70, EL. The Boy Scout Law calls on boys to be cheerful. According to the handbook, this meant a smile in response to orders and "never . . . grumbling at hardships" (Boy Scouts, *Handbook for Boys* [1948], 27).
58. Boy Scouts, *Handbook for Boys* (1948), 26.
59. Scout World, *Boys' Life* 47, no. 4 (April 1957): 26; and James W. English, "The Nest Egg," *Boys' Life* 46, no. 2 (February 1956): 16–17, 28, 32, 34.
60. Joan L. Carter, "Who Walks Unfrightened," box 166, Girl Scouts of the USA (5), White House Conference on Children and Youth Records, 1930–70, EL.
61. Stayer interview.

"Remove Our Troops from Veit Nom and Listen"

YOUTH DIPLOMACY AND JOHNSON'S VIETNAM WAR

SUSAN ECKELMANN BERGHEL

In 1964 Brian M. asked in a letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson, "Why not have children act as foreign diplomats to other countries along with the older diplomats?" He believed that "kids would get more done over a game of checkers than the present older diplomats do arguing."[1] The boy's suggestion highlighted American youth's growing distrust of adult leadership during the Cold War and their eagerness to chime in on political matters to shape the outcome of the Vietnam War. Also in 1964 sixth grader Donald Danek, who was from Massachusetts, begged President Johnson, "Please don't go into the war with the communists." Years before the decade's most intense anti–Vietnam War protests, Danek worried that "we would lose a lot of hard working men that hold the U.S. together."[2]

Antiwar sentiments like Danek's would frame public debates more consistently later in the decade. Letters like these illustrate American teenagers' early 1960s antiwar rhetoric as "youth diplomats" when much of the nation remained committed to the war in Southeast Asia as a way to thwart the spread of international communism.[3] Importantly, these two young diplomats represented only a fraction of youth constituents who debated the Vietnam War. American youth did not come together in a singular voice. For instance, in her 1966 letter to President Johnson, Pennsylvania high school student Rosemarie Pezzoni explained that she was "ashamed" of college-age demonstrators who tore up draft cards.[4] A number of Johnson's young correspondents criticized the antiwar movement and stressed their commitment to serving in the war before they reached draft age.

Between 1964 and 1968, in their correspondence with President Johnson, well over two thousand children and adolescents age six to eighteen hailing from most American states and many countries abroad interrogated intersectional issues of war, civil rights, political leadership, and youth engagement.[5] Young prowar liberal and conservative constituents, opponents of draft dodgers, and peace advocates participated in the debates surrounding the nation's

military conflict. American youth missives represented a channel for youth diplomacy. Young correspondents overwhelmingly presented themselves as representatives or ambassadors of their respective age groups to advocate on behalf of both their peers and the nation. Youth diplomats mediated between the worlds of youth and adults while also adopting conventional notions of diplomacy when engaging specific foreign policy concerns. The decade's youthful energy articulated in archived public correspondence represents an unexplored diplomatic arsenal built amid the U.S. conflict in Southeast Asia. Pro- and antiwar youth diplomats negotiated their futures at home and sought to advance the nation's status as a global power during the Vietnam War.

This chapter intervenes in the historiographical literature on 1960s youth politics and antiwar movements in two important ways. First, the penned perspectives of pre-college-age youth defy the conventional periodization of the antiwar movement and political dissent post–Tet Offensive in 1968. Evidence preserved in the LBJ Presidential Library shows that some youth rejected the war as the sole solution to foreign conflicts in Southeast Asia or questioned the logic of military engagement altogether, well before the height of antiwar youth radicalism often associated with the late 1960s and early 1970s. In addition, young people's missives to presidents or presidential candidates articulated a much wider range of responses to resolving the Vietnam War before and after the 1968 Tet Offensive than the historiographical literature posits. Second, the perspectives of preadolescent and teenage youth challenge popular notions about young people's predominant political leanings toward antiwar rhetoric, their incompetence as active citizens, and the assumed natural alliances between pre-college-age youth and their college-age peers. In this chapter, I focus on pre-college-age youth's letters to Johnson to show that popular characterizations of 1960s youth radicals as one monolithic group that mainly embraced antiwar rhetoric obscure important nuances about young people's self-perceived political status and their valuable contributions as nonvoting citizens.

American classrooms offered an important setting for preadolescent and teenage youth diplomacy. Teachers and parents operated as facilitators through which children and teenagers could relay their perspectives on policies. Politicians served as informants or key intermediaries between young people and the "adult" realm of public policy. Letter writing represented a diplomatic bridge between adult leaders and young people growing into adulthood. Notably, the majority of correspondence indicates young letter writers' independent authorship from parents and other adults. Johnson's young correspondents served as informal youth diplomats in an effort to shape and secure their own futures. "Postage power," as the archived correspondence to President Johnson illustrates, was not limited to one political side or the other, countering the notion that youth citizenship revealed itself as an inherently progressive impulse.[6]

In their correspondence, pre-college-age youth challenged common societal perceptions about their generation and replaced adult assumptions about young people as unqualified, immature, or uninterested.[7] Demonstrating their compe-

tencies as political agents, capable citizens, and informed diplomats, young people countered adult misperceptions, including assumptions that pre-college-age youth would naturally align with their college-age peers. Preadolescent child and teenage correspondents did not necessarily agree with college-age youth, nor were they simply imitating older peers or adults. Apart from establishing their own political aptness, children and teenagers frequently distinguished themselves from other older or college-age youth. Children's and teenagers' missives frequently centered on their claims to political fitness and unique abilities to debate international conflicts; the Vietnam War served as just one platform for such discussions.

A closer look at different age groups, from elementary students to high school–age correspondents, illustrates how young diplomats ranged widely in their aspirations and political outlooks. Elementary school–age writers repeatedly questioned the ideological necessity of war in general and the Cold War in particular, and they promoted more peaceful solutions to international disagreements. These younger constituents stressed different national priorities, including investing in medical advancement and the space program or improving race relations and advancing civil rights. Johnson's youngest youth diplomats expressed greater empathy and concern for the soldiers who, in their view, needed more food, clothes, and medical supplies.

Middle schoolers' and high schoolers' correspondence primarily counteracted assumptions about their generation's uninterest in politics, stressing their fitness as political subjects and reminding the reader of their role as future voters. While middle schoolers favored peace over war, high school–age correspondents focused their pleas on military service as a means to acquire the right to vote. This age constituency also encouraged the display of Americanism against the spread of communism. Many high schoolers felt ashamed of draft card burners and societal dropouts who had become synonymous with the counterculture and antiwar movements.

Young people's written accounts differed aesthetically and structurally from adults' correspondence to the president. For instance, letters from children and teenagers almost always addressed their own age, presumably to undercut readers' perceptions and assumptions of political incompetence. Gender, race, and class were secondary, if mentioned at all, in war-themed correspondence.

Historically, Americans have consistently participated in letter writing as a political practice that, as historian David Gerber asserts, served as a means to "exercise agency, achieve solidarity, and develop self-awareness—and, in short, achieve selfhood."[8] For instance, youth penned missives in waves to First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, focusing on everyday challenges they confronted during the Great Depression. Unlike Vietnam-focused young letter writers, young writers during the Great Depression spoke on behalf of their peers and parents who experienced socioeconomic challenges. Young writers' expressions of powerlessness in the face of economic struggles overshadowed explicitly political content.

Along with young people's active engagement with political leadership, scholars have also examined the use of the symbolic child to advance various ideological narratives. During the Cold War, Margaret Peacock argues, "Soviet and American politicians, propagandists, and members of the press conjured new, idealized visions of children mobilized in the home and in the school to fight the Cold War."[9] Building on Sara Fieldston's work on the Junior Marshall Plan (addressed in part 1 of this volume) and on Jennifer Helgren's notion of the "international girl citizen," this chapter casts light on unstructured and unofficial streams of correspondence through which boys *and* girls shaped the postwar world beyond school organizations and adult-supervised classroom environments.[10]

Gael Graham's work examines high school students' responses to the Vietnam War and their involvement in antiwar movements following the 1968 Tet Offensive, the 1968 Vietnam Moratorium, and the 1970 Kent State University killings. Her work highlights how high school organizations, classroom curricula, and peer culture shaped students' perspectives and participation in public protests often independently from college-age youth.[11] In contrast to Graham, I consider independently authored and public correspondence through which youth embraced their individual responsibility in dictating national agendas before the late 1960s and often outside classroom environments or school organizations.

Joel Rhodes's recent work primarily considers oral histories to show how parental conversations, television news coverage, and material culture such as G.I. Joe toys helped form young people's perspectives on the war.[12] He posits that preadolescents (fifth graders and younger) "almost universally demonstrated a basic ignorance, or severe misconceptions, about even the most widely known factual information. . . . [T]he smallest preadolescents formed an appropriately simple picture of Vietnam." The preadolescent and teenage missives featured in this chapter complicate Rhodes's contention that only older youth critically debated the "credibility gap" between rhetoric and military reality.[13]

Preadolescent and teenage youth demanded to be taken seriously and frequently insisted that their letters be read by the president himself. However, White House officials responded only rarely. Typically, Johnson's principal assistant Juanita Roberts or other presidential staff replied to incoming mail. Presidential letter correspondence was rarely an even exchange, yet the act of writing itself provided political affirmation for the writers. In his work on newspapers authored by black Freedom School students during Mississippi's Freedom Summer, William Sturkey reminds us that young people's writings "benefited their creators much more than their potential readers."[14] Postwar youth culture relied on its own rules and language apart from adults but in conversation with grownups. As Susan Miller explains, "Children willingly conform to adult agendas, not necessarily because youth acquiesce to power, but because their interests often align with those promoted by adults."[15] Letter writing rep-

resents a politicized genre accessible to disenfranchised youth citizens. As Cara Elliott persuasively documents in this volume, public engagement with the White House allowed young people of color during the late 1960s through the 1980s to write themselves into a predominantly white historical narrative of the nation—a form of resistance against continued cultural erasure and racial oppression. Vietnam War–themed youth correspondence resists limited historical and popular assumptions about youth as powerless citizens.

In this chapter, the first section documents preadolescent and pre-college-age youth's sophisticated engagement with foreign policy and the political stakes the war generated, undermining popular and historical assumptions about this age group's political ineptitude. The second section foregrounds teenage youth's opposition to antiwar counterculture activists and draft resisters. While college-age groups such as Students for a Democratic Society increasingly rejected liberal politics, clashed over generational outlooks, and opposed prowar policies, younger children's and teenagers' perspectives challenge such monolithic assumptions. The third section considers the wartime politicization of youth and the ways in which pre-college-age youth asserted their political fitness as nonvoting citizens to advance specific agendas that would affect them as adults. The fourth section presents young voices to reconsider the periodization of antiwar youth radicalism. Pre-college-age youth's antiwar or prowar attitudes before and after 1968 break from conventional historical markers of the Vietnam War chronology.

Preadolescent Youth Question the Necessity of War and Cold War Credibility

During the Vietnam War, children and teenagers reflected upon the ideological rift between the Soviet Union and the United States, a conflict that explained the military occupation in Vietnam. Youth began to question the Cold War itself, considering their own professional futures as grown women and men and projecting political changes as future voters and global intermediaries. As early as 1965, eight-year-old Laurie Unger of Illinois asked President Johnson, "Why can't we live capitalism and they live communism why do we all have to live the same way? I don't understand."[16] Considering the diplomatic stakes of Unger's question, the child's letter does not seem so innocent. Rejecting American propaganda about the nation's affluence and consumer freedom as a singularly effective economic system, Unger revealed the limitations of American capitalist rhetoric and pushed for peace.

Unger already feared the possibility of the conflict's escalation. The young midwestern girl questioned the logic behind the Cold War and the battle to win the "hearts and minds" of the so-called Third World. She advised the president, "Before we may have a possible world war 3, remove our troops from Veit Nom and listen." She suggested, "Russia has thier way of living which is communism and we have ours which is capitalism. We want each other to live good and right.

We each think our own way is best and we each think our own way is best for the other and want *all* to live by it."[17] In her letter, Unger rejected the political consensus behind the military occupation of Southeast Asia as a necessary or effective "containment" strategy. Instead, Unger longed for peaceful coexistence—a seemingly inconceivable approach among the circles of adult political leaders and military strategists.[18] Another twelve-year-old girl letter writer similarly probed the ideological struggle that drove the United States into conflict with Vietnam. This girl asked the president, "Why must there be war? . . . I think two nations can decide their problems over peacefully without causing depression in both countries."[19]

In 1965 eleven-year-old Linda Morse of Nebraska shared Unger's confusion over the need to fight in Southeast Asia. She asked Johnson, "What are they fighting about in Veitnam I think it is pure nonsense. Why are you sending most or all of the happily married men? Maybe you think I'm dumb but I think it is very stupid and uncalled for to fight over there. . . . P.S. I am eleven years old."[20] Morse maintained a tone of respect in her letter while conveying her opposition to fighting and the deployment of soldiers. While Morse did not allude to draftees within her immediate family, her point about splitting families highlights the significance of postwar familial stability.

In 1965 junior high school student Felix Humphrey of Ohio was a pacifist. In a poem he wrote for Johnson, he indicated that the soldiers in Vietnam and American delegates at the Paris peace talks were "hoping that they will end the war in Vietnam." He believed that the war "can be settled / Without the guns!"[21] While the poem may not have reached the president's desk, Humphrey's effort reveals a commitment to resolving diplomatic matters peacefully. Donald Udink from California observed that "the war in Vietnam is bloody and more and more men are getting ship[p]ed there." But despite these concerns, Udink affirmed his admiration for the president in 1965.[22]

Fourth grader Lawton Stephens of Virginia also urged Johnson to stop the fighting in Vietnam in 1965. He explained, "I don't see why there is fighting in Viet-Nam. All the soldiers ought to know that the other soldiers don't want to die any more than they do."[23] This letter from Lawton, the son of Congressman Robert Grier Stephens Jr. of Georgia, prompted the president to write a rare personalized note to the fourth grader. Lawton had also mentioned the recent fight between presidential dogs Him and Blanco. In his response, the president confirmed Him's well-being and assured Lawton that Him and Blanco were again "the best of friends." Importantly, the president engaged the child's wartime concerns. "Wouldn't it be wonderful, Lawton," the president wrote, "if everyone, including animals, would try first to settle their differences in a more peaceful and sensible manner?"[24] This correspondence highlights a rare direct exchange between a young diplomat and the White House.

In 1966 ten-year-old Lorraine Bayes of Illinois imagined other alternatives and put greater faith in the United Nations than in the presidency: "Can't the United Nations help settle this war?" She proclaimed with conviction, "I think

we should all try to get along with each other."[25] In 1966 ten-year-old Robert Bain of California proposed that the United States should "make friends with other countries. Join with Russia in the space program." The Vietnam War killed too many innocent people, Bain affirmed. The president should "use the money" instead for "a cure for arthritis and other medical uses." Bain also insisted on giving "Negroes equal rights in voting" and suggested that the president should focus on improving the nation by investing in science and ensuring equal citizenship rights. He implored, "Let's make a good country for us and others."[26] The tenor of these young people's letters again suggests that they were authored independently from but in conversation with adult authority. When much of the nation was still committed to the war effort, some youngsters grappled with Cold War reasoning and stressed the importance of various domestic issues.

In 1966 a group of nine- and ten-year-old boys from California argued that Americans should invest in improving as a nation instead of pursuing a costly and seemingly floundering military mission abroad. The young diplomats advocated for domestic changes instead of war. In a collective letter expressing their "feelings on peace and this Vietnam War," the boys wanted the president to "try harder to end this war." They observed that the country had sent "many young men to kill and to be killed and, many innocent people are dying." The California boys questioned "what this war is accomplishing" and expressed their feeling that America had nothing to gain from it. "Just because the opposition believes in a different type of government is no reason for war," the boys lamented. The United States didn't have the "right" to interfere in non-American civil wars. "To fight and kill" was "foolish."[27] Each boy included an additional letter—a personalized plea—addressing his issues of concern. A contributor to this letter campaign, Ned Ginsberg, further suggested, "We could stop cancer and lots more things."[28] Another young writer, Ricky Lefkowitz, proclaimed, "We have wasted millions of dollars so far on this war."[29] Against conventional historical understandings of changing public attitudes toward the Vietnam War, preadolescent and teenage youth asserted their political competence in weighing different political alternatives to war.

Youth Divided: Children's and Teenagers' Opposition to Draft Resistance and the Counterculture

By the mid-1960s, antiwar protests had become increasingly associated with youth radicalism. In 1965 the Students for a Democratic Society sponsored a march in Washington, D.C., that was attended by over twenty thousand Americans who opposed the war.[30] The march signified the beginning of intensified antiwar resistance among college-age youth. However, Vietnam era preadolescent and teenage youth diplomacy defies the monolithic definitions that are broadly associated with 1960s youth. Young people's written testimonies offer a window onto the growing cultural clashes. Counterculture youth and draft

resisters found significant opposition among child and teenage observers. In 1965 thirteen-year-old Paul Tubin from New York was "100% behind [Johnson's] Viet Nam Foreign Policy." The boy asked, "What gives people the right to tear up their draft cards?" Tubin believed that demonstrations undermined the "moral[e] of the soldiers already there." He insisted that the president had "no choice but to increase draft # to win the war."[31] In his lengthy typed 1965 letter, sixteen-year-old John Paul Galligan of New Jersey also pushed against the growing opposition to the military campaign in Southeast Asia, framing American involvement as a way to spread and defend American democracy. Applauding Johnson's policies in Vietnam, Galligan called the president "a man who is willing to work so hard to preserve and protect our liberty and rights, and to try to help the less fortunate people on this earth also achieve the freedoms that Democracy offers." Galligan claimed to represent his peers when approving of Johnson's effective leadership and the growing military involvement in 1965. The teenager asserted, "*This is the showdown!* We must, and we will, show the many countries of the world that we will go so far as to draft thousands of 'our boys' to fight, when an aggressive act is made toward Democracy or any of the liberty it upholds." Galligan asserted, "Even though I am *only* sixteen years old, I was shocked at some of the public's opinions." "Speaking for the youth of America," Galligan continued, while "I am not yet old enough to offer any actual help to win this cause . . . I anxiously await the day that I . . . may play a definate role in the defense and promotion of our government's ideals."[32] This teenager's notion of youth differed starkly from the contemporary conceptions associated with antiwar youth radicals such as the Students for a Democratic Society.

Pre-college-age youth diplomats wrestled with the stakes of the war and relied on American patriotic language to promote Johnson's war policy. In 1966 Pennsylvania high school student Kenneth Kennison, a supporter of the war, felt "guilty about the anti–Viet Nam demonstrations." Kennison explained that the "peaceniks" were "likely Communist inspired," "shamefully wrong," and "completely un-American." The teenager was convinced that Johnson's "sensible path" would "end" the "international crisis."[33] Robert Blouse from Pennsylvania did not fully agree with Johnson's policy but believed that antiwar demonstrators weakened U.S. foreign policy.[34] In 1966 Gail Jarris from California encouraged Johnson to send "some more men, and declare more war."[35] In 1967 high school student Pattie Galligher, also from California, complained, "All this demonstrating is silly." It made her "absolutely sick" when Americans blamed President Johnson for the war. She argued that protesters "should realize that we have committed ourselves for a purpose and that purpose is to stop the spread of communism into the free world." Galligher urged, "Why don't people really get behind the government and show those communists that we are one country who is going to stick together?" The teenage girl believed that "what the war needs is the all out support of all of us, and we're ready to give it."[36] Seventeen-year-old Phillip Jorgensen expressed his willingness to register for the draft, explaining, "I cannot stand draft dodgers or hippies or other drop-

outs."[37] Eleven-year-old Richard Krukowski promised to work hard and asked Johnson to "make room for one more cadet at West Point in 1973."[38]

In 1967 seventeen-year-old Phillips Bradford Johnson, son of the rector of St. Paul's Church in Nantucket, "firmly" declared his support for the Vietnam War and Johnson's presidency. He declared, "To those who express their dissent by burning draft cards, rioting, and refusing to execute fair judgment, I say this: they have no understanding of the role the United States of America has played in the past, is playing now, and will continue, by divine will, to play. We must honor our commitments, and I think we are." The teenager admired Johnson's ability to persevere during crises.[39] A year later the then eighteen-year-old wrote to Johnson again. He affirmed, "I respect your decision not to seek reelection as not an indication of your vulnerability to defeat, but rather as an indication of your willingness to sacrifice yourself . . . for the cause of domestic tranquility. I am only sorry that you have been hampered during your administration by constant attacks and malingering by the juvenile senator, Robert Francis Kennedy." Bradford Johnson's critical reference to the senator's alleged "juvenile" political behavior highlights the teenager's growing criticism of some adults' inability to lead the country. From his vantage point, a politician's adult status did not necessarily guarantee their ability to make responsible decisions. The teen believed that the Texan president served as one "who has cared for all Americans."[40] In 1968 student Jack Welsh from Arizona countered national disillusionment with liberal leadership, assuring the president that "all approve of your actions in Vietnam."[41] At the height of the antiwar movement, youth did not universally oppose the war and the Johnson administration.

Wartime Politicization of Nonvoting Youth Citizens

The Vietnam War politicized younger generations at home. The conflict presented them with a platform to prove their political fitness and affirm their status as nonvoting citizens. Further, preadolescent and teenage youth engaged with domestic issues such as race relations and the status of women and grappled with the long-term implications of war beyond their years of youth. In 1967 twelfth grader Larry Malone from Texas asserted, "All politicians should pay more attention to letters like this from high school students because in 1970, this class will be voting."[42] In 1968 middle school students in Maryland explained to President Johnson, "Most citizens think, as young people, we are not interested in world affairs, but actually this holds no truth. Often we wondered what the world will be like in the future."[43] In her letter to the president addressing the Vietnam War, Leslie Anne Evans of Arizona declared, "I may *just* be nine years old but I can think!!"[44] "Friend" and "fellow Democrat" Rebecca Spooner, a freshman at a high school in Arizona, insisted, "This is my thinking *only* and not my friends or parents." Spooner stressed that adults did not influence her political viewpoints.[45]

In 1966 fifteen-year-old Nancy Davis from Ohio mailed a letter addressed to the desk of the president in which she expressed a desire to participate in politics. Davis's letter documented her participation in the Girl Scouts and other service projects such as Y-Teens (part of the YWCA) and her church's teen group. She insisted in her letter that "everyone should know that teenagers have so much more to give, they have talents and time and ability to work and learn and we have so much fun from doing things." With more opportunities and adult confidence in youth, American teenagers could help improve the nation. For a nation to grow (up) and advance, children should take a part in it. Davis believed that "if some more older people cared about us and quit mocking our fads, then I believe that the upcoming generation will be better than you think." The war offered an opportunity for teenagers to demonstrate their abilities and improve the nation. Davis's letter was a call for Johnson to "help the teens of the U.S. help others." She shared in her letter that she corresponded with "a lot of men" in Vietnam and learned that "they all have their reason for being there and their letters are so sincere."[46]

As an active citizen, twelve-year-old Gayle Anderson from California wanted to get a "committee going." Her concern focused on the soldiers stationed overseas; she wanted to raise money "to buy enough food and clothes. . . . But I only want it if it is alright with you."[47] The children and teenagers embraced prowar duties as "citizen soldiers" that had been more common among youth during the Second World War.[48] Twelve-year-old Loretta Stippa and her sister Maria from Abington, Pennsylvania, also wanted to support soldiers in a direct way. Stippa wrote, "Today I have decided that I would like to go to Viet Nam and entertain the soldiers with your permission." The sisters had prepared an act to accompany Irving Berlin's "Sisters," a song they likely observed in the 1954 movie *White Christmas*. She claimed, "This is my most desirable wish. . . . Please let me go there to Viet Nam."[49] As cultural cheerleaders, the girls sought to boost military morale through musical entertainment. Thirteen-year-old James Gawne of Illinois advocated for soldiers' access to medical supplies. He learned from the newspapers that one of his father's former high school students, Patrick Sweeney, was killed "after 10 days." Gawne shared from Sweeney's letter the information that soldiers lacked medical supplies and combat clothing, among other items. The teenage boy insisted that soldiers should be given "proper equipment so that they can at least come home alive."[50]

American teenage youth diplomats were divided over the Vietnam War and its impact on domestic issues. In 1965 a sixth-grade class from Maryland mailed to the president twenty-eight class letters accompanied by reports on the question of women's military participation in Vietnam. Young girls and boys weighed in on concerns about family responsibilities, women's rights, and the necessity of war. Twenty-two out of the twenty-eight middle schoolers (fourteen girls, eight boys) supported the draft for women; six students (two girls, four boys) offered arguments against it.[51] Sixth grader Mina Susan Grimm argued, "If a man

can be drafted so can be a lady but not just for cooking or nursing but for fighting. Some people think that men can run faster than lady's and do things better than girls. But that is not so." If she was drafted, Grimm proposed "to be a spy." Classmate Cynthia Vivian noted that women could serve as "doctors and help the army." Andrew Wepaznick believed, in fact, that women had "an obligation to there country too." Another female classmate, named Priscilla Johnson, proclaimed, "If they would take the women into the army I'd go!" The students in support of the draft for women insisted that they would have to want to fight. Classmate Sharon Sievers criticized draft card burners when willing female citizens were barred from the military. Mary Jean Cunningham declared that she "would like to be fighting in Vietnam right now."[52] The conflict in Southeast Asia presented a platform on which some of the young girls called for more professional opportunities for women and a revision of gendered notions of ability.

Classmates Jimmy Smit and Bill Temple took a different stance. Disagreeing with their peers' prodraft position for women, Smit claimed, "The ladies like to be so clean. . . . I'll bet they could not stand getting dirty and staying that way for a couple of weeks." Temple maintained that women should not be drafted at all; according to him, "[a woman] has a duty to her family." Further, he maintained, "I don't think women are strong enough." Men, he told the president, "invented machines" that made "the housewife's chores easier." Rosalind Band, one of the two girls who shared male classmates' objections to the women's draft, maintained, "Women have their duty at home minding their children and doing the housework. . . . Even if she did not have children it is not right for a woman. She has to stay home and do her job."[53] Helgren argues that "nurturing human relationships" remained a primary task for the "international girl citizen" during the 1940s and 1950s.[54] This set of letters shows how Vietnam War discourses among child and teenage youth revealed evolving, as well as regressive, perspectives about women's place in postwar U.S. society. While some youth continued to embrace gender norms more characteristic of earlier decades, the majority of students, both girls and boys, supported the draft for women. Mailed in 1965, these reports highlight that some youth began to debate women's rights and competence in society, indicating their own professional aspirations and showcasing teenage voices as representatives in political conversations.[55] Youth diplomacy inspired by the Vietnam conflict engaged gendered discourses about military involvement and women's status in the United States. Some youth diplomats asserted their own ideas about the responsibilities and rights women and men should share before the 1966 founding of the National Organization for Women and the height of the feminist movement.

The war also inspired a conversation about military duty and voting rights. In 1965 tenth grader Robert Kadlecek from Illinois felt that "a young man who is called to military service of his country is old enough and should be given the privilege to vote for those who run the government."[56] This teenager argued that duty and sacrifice should also include the political right to shape policies. High school senior Janice Vesper from Houston, Texas, agreed. "Being a girl," she ex-

plained, "I am not affected by the draft, but I feel that if someone is old enough to fight and possibly die for his country he should at least be given a little say-so in the government he is defending the rights of. Many of the boys I go to school with will be in Viet Nam soon and I feel that since they do the majority of the fighting that they should be allowed a voice in their home government." In her opinion, the lowering of the voting age would ultimately secure political rights among younger generations.[57] Importantly, military service should also include political enfranchisement. Sixth grader Karen Wilber of Alaska pushed back against the draft age: "I do not agree that young men under the age of 20 (16, 17, and 18 year olds) should be sent to war."[58]

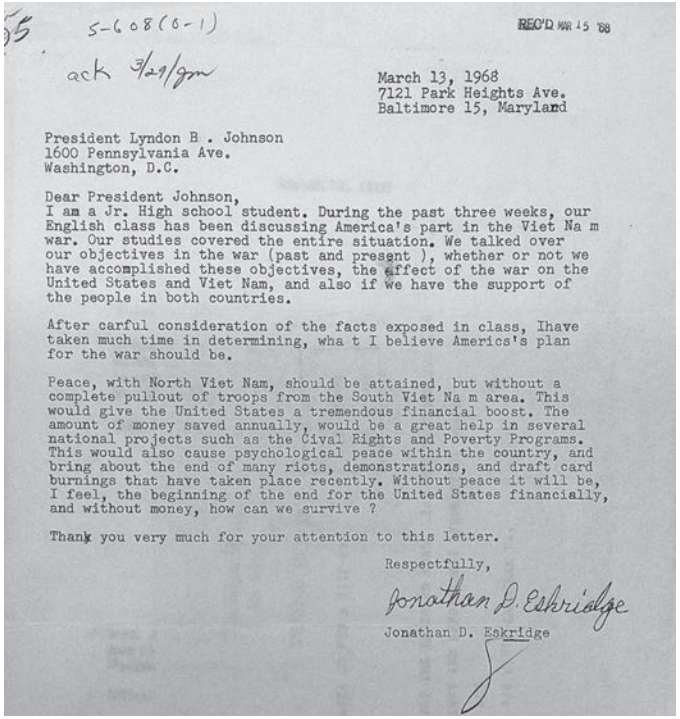
Johnson's youthful writers adopted nuanced policy proposals that weighed military decisions against long-term peace and a need to focus on continuing domestic issues such as civil rights and poverty. In 1967 sixteen-year-old Steve Heston from Iowa offered another possible solution to the war in Vietnam, asserting his responsibility as an active citizen and a mindful youth diplomat. He proposed that more direct communication with Vietnamese people and a deeper consideration of their needs could lead to sustainable peace. In his letter to Johnson, the teenager maintained that the war "will never end soon without face-to-face talks with the N. Vietnamese people . . . [p]ossibly enabling top officials from the two sides to put an end to fighting. This can work with anything. Believe me."[59]

In a typed letter to the White House, junior high school student Jonathan Eskridge of Maryland informed Johnson that he and his peers had studied the war closely, thereby demonstrating their political fitness as active and mindful citizens. "After careful consideration of the facts," Eskridge explained the class's proposed strategy:

> Peace, with North Viet Nam, should be attained, but without a complete pullout of troops from the South Vietnam area. This would give the United States a tremendous financial boost. The amount of money saved annually, would be great in several national projects such as the Cival Rights and Poverty Programs. This would also cause psychological peace with the country, and bring the end of many riots, demonstrations, and draft card burnings that have taken place recently. Without peace it will be, I feel, the beginning of the end for the United States financially and without money, how can we survive?[60]

Unlike other youth correspondents' enthusiastic avowal of Johnson's military position, Eskridge and his classmates weighed economic interests and urged the withdrawal of troops to accomplish several domestic and international objectives at once. Civil rights and conflict resolution at home framed the proposals carefully articulated in Eskridge's letter.

Preadolescent and teenage youth also turned Vietnam War debates into a battleground over partisan politics. Some Vietnam War–themed correspondence showed that youth might support Johnson's presidency, but they ques-



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REC'D MAR 15 '68

ack 3/29/gm

March 13, 1968
7121 Park Heights Ave.
Baltimore 15, Maryland

President Lyndon B. Johnson
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Johnson,
I am a Jr. High school student. During the past three weeks, our English class has been discussing America's part in the Viet Na m war. Our studies covered the entire situation. We talked over our objectives in the war (past and present), whether or not we have accomplished these objectives, the effect of the war on the United States and Viet Nam, and also if we have the support of the people in both countries.

After carful consideration of the facts exposed in class, Ihave taken much time in determining, wha t I believe Americs's plan for the war should be.

Peace, with North Viet Nam, should be attained, but without a complete pullout of troops from the South Viet Na m area. This would give the United States a tremendous financial boost. The amount of money saved annually, would be a great help in several national projects such as the Cival Rights and Poverty Programs. This would also cause psychological peace within the country, and bring about the end of many riots, demonstrations, and draft card burnings that have taken place recently. Without peace it will be, I feel, the beginning of the end for the United States financially, and without money, how can we survive ?

Thank you very much for your attention to this letter.

Respectfully,

Jonathan D. Eskridge

Jonathan D. Eskridge

Following a discussion in his English class on current events, junior high school student Jonathan Eskridge from Maryland wrote to President Lyndon B. Johnson with a policy proposal on how to end the Vietnam War and secure Great Society programs. White House Central Files, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas. Courtesy of Jonathan Eskridge.

tioned the objectives of the war and Johnson's military decision making. Other youth correspondents supported the war's logic and the need to commit troops but challenged Johnson's leadership or suggested he turn his attention to domestic affairs. White southern youth diplomats especially expressed their disenchantment with Johnson's failure to assert global leadership and protect "states' rights." In his neatly typed letter to President Johnson, white seventeen-year-old Robert Lee Utsey Jr. of South Carolina criticized the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Johnson's ineffective military direction. "You can make yourself more popular with us," Utsey wrote in 1965, "if you leave the Negroes alone, . . . adopt a winning attitude towards the war in Viet Nam, and get Federal registrars out of the South." While the seventeen-year-old embraced the diplomatic logic of the Cold War, he did not believe that liberal leaders like Johnson were best positioned to resolve military conflicts. As early as 1965, Utsey reminded the president, "White Southerners like myself are getting fed up with the political doings around Washington and your flirtations with the Negroes. White people elected you, and they can vote you out of office in 1968, too. We

will never be satisfied until we get a conservative in the White House." During the 1968 presidential election, the teen promised, he would cast his vote for "the conservative cause," and as a southerner, he "would never forget" that the president "deserted the South for national political power."[61] Youth diplomacy served young representatives across party lines during the 1960s. In 1968, when Utsey reached voting age, he was prepared to cast his ballot for a candidate he thought might be better suited to lead the nation and win the war in Vietnam.

Reconsidering the Periodization of 1960s Antiwar Protest and Political Dissent

As early as 1965, fifteen-year-old Lynn Virpsa from Princeton, New Jersey, was concerned about the Vietnam War. She wrote, "Everytime you pick up a newspaper it says the exact number of Vietnamese killed but it never says how many Americans were killed." The young girl made a scrapbook about the war to memorialize the soldiers "lost for something that doesn't even concern us." She reminded Johnson that she was "not a pacifist."[62] Before the antiwar protests of the late 1960s, Virpsa questioned the necessity of war and noted the futility of human loss.

In 1966 fifteen-year-old Martha Morgan's concerns were more personal. When national antiwar protests intensified, she worried, "When I get married, if I do, my children if I have any, will have to hear about a foreign menace like Communism."[63] As other voices grew more critical of the Cold War's credibility gap, Morgan embraced Red Scare rhetoric.

By 1968 some American youth—often lumped together in one monolithic group fighting against the war—rejected antiwar arguments. In 1968 high school student Sharon Aziz of New York wrote to the president expressing her opposition to antiwar demonstrators and Johnson's critics: "I feel that it is up to the people of this nation to help the president with constructive criticism and not act like a bunch of rebels. I think our stand in Vietnam is right. . . . Even if I was a boy of 18 and had to go to war, I would go and fight for my country and not be a coward (Like many people I know)."[64] Aziz stressed her commitment to the war.

Johnson's withdrawal from the presidential race resonated with many children and teenagers in 1968. The rising death counts served as constant reminders of Johnson's failing war policies, and much of the adult public had turned against the president. Younger observers remained loyal and often did not align with the growing political dissent against the Johnson administration. In 1968 ten-year-old Susan Bayers from Illinois wrote, "I know myself that you have done all you can with the war in Viet Nam." Bayers claimed, "Ex-President Kennedy couldn't do much more. It's a matter that can hardly be moved. So please don't feel like you have done nothing. . . . So cheer up!"[65] Eight-year-old Randy Paul Allgaier from New Jersey echoed this sentiment: "Keep your chin up and try not to let some people make you feel bad." Allgaier thought that Johnson had a "very hard job." While some Americans did not want "to be in Vietnam," All-

gaier believed Johnson was doing the "right thing" and insisted, "We must help all people to be free."[66] While "not too many people like you right now because of the war," fourteen-year-old Terri Tuecke pledged her support, stating, "I am not one of those people and I commend you highly on the job you have been doing."[67] At Johnson's lowest approval rating in 1968, Rebecca Spooner claimed, "If I was old enough to vote, I would vote for you."[68]

Sixteen-year-old straight-A student Bernard Skoch from Arkansas felt that his "letter is so important" and demanded that the president read it. In this typed missive, the teenager reassured Johnson. "You inherited the troubles from the past administration. You didn't make new ones, you just tried to solve the ones you had. And you've done the best job of everyone's capability," Skoch declared. "When we first moved into Vietnam, the North Vietnamese were dead set on knocking us down to their level. They tried, and tried, but they didn't succeed, because deep down, they know that we cannot be removed from our hill of superiority." "Filled with emotion," the teenager begged Johnson, "we need you. YOU are the only one."[69] The prospects of other political candidates concerned some youth. In 1968 twelve-year-old Sandy Scroggo from Alaska wrote to the president with a specific concern: Bobby Kennedy, if elected president, might take "out our troops in Viet Nam" and start "a war in the United States."[70] High school student Peter Scharler from Pennsylvania sought a bipartisan approach to the Cold War. He argued, "This is a time when both Republicans and democrats shall unite behind your decisions and policy. The action we have taken, and will take in South East Asia is a victory for all people fighting for democracy in the world."[71]

Home-front disputes during the Vietnam War offered an opportunity for youth to question adult leadership and parental authority in an effort to liberate themselves from the cultural and political confines of disenfranchised citizenship.[72] The battleground extended beyond Southeast Asia to conversations about effective political leadership.[73] It was a "showdown" for younger generations well beyond political classification. Conservative and progressive youth alike embraced letter writing as a channel for youth diplomacy to guide domestic and foreign policy decisions that might affect them once they reached adulthood. Countering monolithic and limited assumptions about youth, elementary students to high school youth served as eager advisors to the Johnson administration. While some encouraged the president to fight Cold War communism tooth and nail, others urged him to consider peaceful solutions. Youth did not speak with a singular voice during the 1960s, nor did children's and teenagers' political perspectives regarding the war adhere to the historical bookends of conventional pro- and antiwar protest chronology.

The Vietnam War represented one of the most prominent issues debated among young correspondents, as the war's fallout would conceivably affect their lives well beyond their adolescent years. America's youngest citizens engaged with and responded to presidential policies on their own terms as "loyal

citizens," "friends," "advisors," and "diplomats." What the thousands of letters to the president further highlight is how young people relied on letters to form an age-based "diplomatic bridge" between the worlds of youth and adults.

NOTES

1. Bill Adler, *Dear Mr. President* (Toronto: McLeod Limited, 1964), 8. This collection of letters, as author Bill Adler notes, represents a small selection from the White House mailroom during the winter of 1964. American children mailed thousands of letters each week.
2. Donald Danek to Lyndon B. Johnson (hereafter LBJ), November 13, 1964, box 42, OA 73, Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, University of Texas at Austin (hereafter LBJL). See also Gary Soltero to LBJ, August 15, 1964, box 51, OA 98, LBJL. Grammatical and spelling errors in the original sources have been retained in all direct quotations.
3. See Patricia Lake to LBJ, October 10, 1967, name file "Lake, P," box 17, White House Central File (WHCF), LBJL; Jennifer Ude to LBJ, March 8, 1966, name file "Ude," box 2, WHCF, LBJL.
4. Rosemarie Pezzoni to LBJ, February 1, 1966, folder 137, box 99, WHCF, LBJL.
5. This number reflects my extensive archival findings; the actual number of young people's writings archived at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library may be far more comprehensive. Researchers only have access to already opened name files.
6. Lori Rotskoff, "'Little Women's Libbers' and '*Free to Be* Kids,'" in *When We Were Free to Be: Looking Back at a Children's Classic and the Difference It Made*, ed. Lori Rotskoff and Laura Lovett (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 105.
7. Julie Passanante Elman, *Chronic Youth: Disability, Sexuality, and U.S. Media Cultures of Rehabilitation* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 13.
8. David A. Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 72.
9. Margaret Peacock, *Innocent Weapons: The Soviet and American Politics of Childhood in the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 3; Marilyn Irvin Holt, *Cold War Kids: Politics and Childhood in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014).
10. See also Sara Fieldston, *Raising the World: Child Welfare in the American Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015); Fieldston, "Little Cold Warriors: Child Sponsorship and International Affairs," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (April 2014): 240–50; Jennifer Helgren, *American Girls and Global Responsibility: A New Relation to the World during the Early Cold War* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2017).
11. Gael Graham, *Young Activists: American High School Students in the Age of Protest* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006), 136–67. Notably, Graham's work focuses on antiwar protests emerging largely after 1968. For more on student activism, see Holly Scott, *Younger Than That Now* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 33–54.
12. Joel Rhodes writes that the "relationship between Lyndon B. Johnson and children was less emotive." The archived correspondence of young citizens in response to the war reveals that Johnson's presidential decisions mobilized youth politically and

inspired an "intimate diplomacy" with the politician. For a comprehensive account of childhood and presidential politics during the 1960s, see Joel P. Rhodes, *Growing Up in a Land Called Honalee: The Sixties in the Lives of American Children* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2017), 6, 107–42.

13. Ibid., 194, 197.
14. William Sturkey, "'I Want to Become a Part of History': Freedom Summer, Freedom Schools, and the Freedom News," *Journal of African American History* 95, no. 3–4 (Summer–Fall 2010): 356, 363–64. See also Jon N. Hale, *Freedom Schools: Student Activists in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 130.
15. Susan A. Miller, "Assent as Agency in the Early Years of the Children of the American Revolution," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2016): 49.
16. Laurie Unger to LBJ, 1965, name file "Unger, L-P," WHCF, LBJL.
17. Ibid.
18. Helgren illustrates that letter exchanges allowed "young people to experience adult activities before stepping in to their full responsibilities to democracy and the world." During the 1940s and 1950s Cold War, American girls pursued "international friendship and international understanding" to solve "the problems at home and abroad" (Helgren, *American Girls*, 27, 55).
19. Twelve-year-old girl to LBJ, December 30, 1965, name file "Vanel," box 19, WHCF, LBJL.
20. Linda Morse to LBJ, October 27, 1965, name file "Morse, L," box 592, WHCF, LBJL.
21. Felix Humphrey to LBJ, December 18, 1965, name file "Humphrey, F," box 467, WHCF, LBJL.
22. Donald Udink to LBJ, November 20, 1965, name file "Ude," box 2, WHCF, LBJL.
23. Lawton Stephens to LBJ, May 18, 1965, EX PP 15-10, box 119, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.
24. LBJ to Lawton Stephens, 1965, EX PP 15-10, box 119, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.
25. Lorraine Bayes to LBJ, January 31, 1966, name file "Bayer, L-R," box 133, LBJL.
26. Robert Bain to LBJ, August 9, 1966, box 124, OA 619, LBJL.
27. Group of nine- and ten-year-old boys to LBJ, August 9, 1966, folder 619, box 124, OA 619, LBJL. The boys identified as a group but did not reveal how the group had organized.
28. Ned Ginsberg to LBJ, August 9, 1966, folder 619, box 124, OA 619, LBJL.
29. Ricky Lefkowitz to LBJ, August 9, 1966, ; and Robert Levy to LBJ, August 9, 1966, both in folder 619, box 124, OA 619, LBJL.
30. Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 170.
31. Paul Tubin to LBJ, November 1, 1965, name file "Tube," box 199, WHCF, LBJL.
32. John Paul Galligan to LBJ, 1965, name file "Gallig," box 16, WHCF, LBJL (my emphasis). See also Lois Van Ermen to LBJ, December 18, 1965, name file "Vanel," box 19, WHCF, LBJL.
33. Kenneth Kennison to LBJ, 1966, folder 137, OA 99, WHCF, LBJL.
34. Robert Blouse to LBJ, 1966, folder 137, box 99, WHCF, LBJL.
35. Gail Jarris to LBJ, January 25, 1966, name file J "Jarreta," box 50, WHCF LBJL.
36. Pattie Galligher to LBJ, 1967, name file "Gallig," box 16, WHCF, LBJL.
37. Phillip Jorgensen to LBJ, March 31, 1968, Gen SP 3-236 / ST 3, box 204, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.

38. Richard Krukowski to LBJ, June 1, 1966 (received), name file "Kruk," box 260, WHCF, LBJL.
39. Phillips Bradford Johnson to LBJ, June 14, 1967, name file "Johnson, Ph," box 128, WHCF, LBJL.
40. Phillips Bradford Johnson to LBJ, April 5, 1968, name file "Johnson, Ph," box 128, WHCF, LBJL.
41. Jack Welsh to LBJ, April 3, 1968, Gen SP 3-236 / ST 3, box 204, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.
42. Larry Malone to LBJ, September 8, 1967, folder 1683, box 193, OA 148, LBJL.
43. Clarksville Middle School students to LBJ, April 8, 1968, folder 619, box 124, OA 619, LBJL.
44. Leslie Anne Evans to LBJ, 1968, Gen SP 3-236 / ST, box 204, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL (my emphasis).
45. Rebecca Spooner to LBJ, April 1, 1968, Gen SP 3-236 / ST 3, box 204, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.
46. Nancy Davis to LBJ, September 19, 1966, name file "Davis, Na," box 69, WHCF, LBJL.
47. Gayle Anderson to LBJ, February 18, 1966, name file "Anderson, Ga," box 156, LBJL. See also Arthur Franklin Tuerk to LBJ, March 22, 1966, name file "Tue," box 206, WHCF, LBJL.
48. William Tuttle Jr., *Daddy's Gone to War: The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).
49. Loretta Stippa to LBJ, January 22, 1967, folder "Stinsona," box 583, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.
50. James Gawne to LBJ, July 28, 1967 (received), name file "Gawl," box 61, WHCF, LBJL.
51. A report states that between 7,000 and 55,000 of the 192,000 women in the services were stationed in Vietnam as part of the Army Medical Corps, mostly as nurses. U.S. Congress, Senate, Speech on Women Vietnam Veterans, April 29, 1981, *Congressional Record*, S4169.
52. Maryland sixth-grade class to LBJ, October 21, 1965, box 82, OA 185, LBJL.
53. Ibid.
54. Helgren, *American Girls*, 14.
55. In this example, the teacher served as an enabler or intermediary, creating a channel for students to speak on political issues independently and assert themselves as citizens in the absence of formal political outlets.
56. Robert Kadlecek to LBJ, 1965, box 84, OA 191, LBJL.
57. Janice Vesper to LBJ, September 8, 1967, folder 1683, box 193, OA 148, LBJL.
58. She was also pleased with the president's record on civil rights and wanted the world to understand that African Americans "have rights too." Karen Wilber to LBJ, November 1, 1966, folder "Rogers Park School—6th Grade—School Children of Alaska," WHCF, LBJL.
59. Steve Heston to LBJ, August 30, 1967, name file "Hesto," box 27, WHCF, LBJL.
60. Jonathan D. Eskridge to LBJ, March 13, 1968, name file "Eskr," box 121, WHCF, LBJL.
61. Robert Lee Utsey Jr. to LBJ, October 26, 1965, folder "Utleya," WHCF, LBJL.
62. Lynn Virpsa to LBJ, November 18, 1965, name file "Vum," box 91, WHCF, LBJL.
63. Martha Morgan to LBJ, February 10, 1966, folder 137, box 99, WHCF, LBJL. See also William E. Crick, February 8, 1966, folder 137, box 99, WHCF, LBJL.
64. Sharon Aziz to LBJ, January 18, 1968, name file "Azi," box 255, WHCF, LBJL.
65. Susan Bayers to LBJ, April 2, 1968, box 133, "Bayer, L-R," WHCF, LBJL.

66. Randy Paul Allgaier to LBJ, February 28, 1966, name file "Alleya," box 100, WHCF, LBJL.
67. Terri Tuecke to LBJ, April 1, 1968, name file "Tue," box 206, WHCF, LBJL.
68. Rebecca Spooner to LBJ, April 1, 1968, Gen SP 3-236 / ST 3, box 204, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.
69. Bernard Skoch, April 1, 1968, SP 3-236 / ST 2, box 204, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL. See also Glenn Davis, April 5, 1968, SP 3-236 / ST 2, box 204, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.
70. Sandy Scroggo to LBJ, April 1, 1968, SP 3-236 / ST 2, box 204, Papers of LBJ President 1963–1969, LBJL.
71. Peter Scharler to LBJ, February 1966, folder 137, box 99, OA 99, WHCF, LBJL.
72. For a discussion of politicians' children's involvement in antiwar protests, see Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 262. Youth also revealed that Johnson's authority often exceeded that of their parents. Rebecca Rainey of Mississippi believed the president could undoubtedly overrule parental objections to attend a Beatles concert. She wrote, "We were wondering if you would write back a letter telling us whether we should go or not, and I'm hoping that you think we should, because there comes only one chance in a girl's life time to see the Beatles in person." Rebecca Rainey to LBJ, 1964, name file "Rainsa," box 17, WHCF, LBJL.
73. Susan Jeffords considers "fields of gender" in her examination of the Vietnam War as a battleground. See Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989). This chapter considers "fields of age" as a space for exchange and negotiation.

A "Force for Change"

YOUTH ACTIVISTS AND THE ASIAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT

ANDREA KWON

There is no one who can better identify and deal with the problems of the young Asian American than a fellow young Asian American.

—Mitchell M. Matsumura, "High School Asians Come Together," *Gidra,* February 1971

The Asian American movement (AAM) marked a watershed in the historical experience of peoples of Asian ancestry in the United States. Although protest and resistance had been central to that experience since the mid-nineteenth century, when Asian immigrants began settling in the United States in significant numbers, the post–World War II decades witnessed the emergence among the Asian American population of an unprecedented social movement.[1] At its core, the AAM was a broad-based effort to seek social justice and change in American society. Movement participants came from diverse ethnic communities and varied in socioeconomic background, age, and political ideology, yet they coalesced around a shared history of and ongoing struggle against racial oppression and exploitation. Inspired by the antiwar and Black Power movements at home and national liberation movements abroad, movement activists called for racial justice, mobilized workers, led strikes and rallies, formed community programs and organizations, pursued interracial alliances, and, for the first time, articulated a panethnic identity as "Asian Americans."

If the Asian American movement, as historian Daryl Maeda has persuasively argued, "had a wide-ranging impact on the racial and political landscape of Asian America and more generally, the United States," it nevertheless remains "one of the least-known social movements of the 1960s and 1970s."[2] A growing body of scholarship on the AAM, especially in recent years, however, covers substantial historiographical ground in elucidating the movement's multiple facets, complexities, and legacies. As these studies illustrate, the Asian American movement, like many of the social movements of the post–World War II era, garnered much of its strength from the involvement of young people.[3] College

students and those in their twenties most notably comprised a major force behind the AAM both on the ground and in the leadership. But while the existing literature on the AAM holds a wide consensus on young people's prominence, few works have focused exclusively on high school–age activists, who proved a vital if comparatively smaller component of the movement and its making.[4] The wider scholarship on youth activism in the United States, moreover, has given even less attention to the nature of Asian American teenage protest.[5]

This chapter addresses that absence by considering some of the ways high school–age youth entered, understood, and participated in the Asian American movement from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s, the period when the movement reached its height. During these years, Asian American teenagers from across the country joined the movement's ranks, marching, strategizing, struggling, and working alongside, as well as independently from, adult fellow activists. While these youngsters may have looked up to older participants as role models or mentors, they also saw themselves as political actors in their own right in helping to shape the ideology and praxis of the movement. As such, teenage activists staked out a separate arena within the AAM, in the process enriching the movement's scope and engaging broader questions regarding race, power, and belonging in America.

High school–age activism in the Asian American movement focused principally on unity. Urging their peers toward a new collective consciousness, teenagers sought to develop a pan–Asian American identity that simultaneously embraced solidarities with Third World peoples within and outside the United States. At the same time, teenage activists explicitly challenged mainstream narratives that stereotyped Americans of Asian descent. By the late 1960s and spurred by the exigencies of Cold War liberalism, popular representations of Asian Americans had shifted from tropes like the unassimilable "yellow peril" to portrayals of Asians as the "model" or successful minority.[6] As the experiences of high school–age youth demonstrated, that transition was not absolute; instead, it coexisted with deeply entrenched perceptions of Asians as the Other: foreign, exotic, or otherwise indelibly different.[7]

Like other activists in the AAM, teenagers eschewed these external classifications and instead asserted the right to define their own lives and images. Yet their participation in the movement should not be seen as merely a younger version or corollary to the more familiar story of the college-age cohort. While teenage activists would align with the radical framework of the Asian American movement, they also drew upon their specific realities and contexts as adolescent Americans of Asian descent to take action for social change. The high school, in particular, became a central site where Asian American youth contested the model minority stereotype, but their involvement in the AAM also encompassed other activities such as Serve the People programs and antiwar protests.[8] Of course, not all Asian American youngsters in the 1960s and 1970s were activists, nor did all universally lend their support to the AAM. Teenage activ-

ism nonetheless provides a valuable window into the dynamics of this seminal movement, as well as a glimpse into the lives of young Asian Americans who pushed the political boundaries of post–World War II America and, ultimately, envisioned new possibilities for a transformed world.

Emergence of the AAM

The Asian American movement emerged within the context of major shifts in demographic and residential patterns among Asian ethnic communities in the United States. Prior to World War II, Asian Americans were primarily a foreign-born population (the largest groups originated from China, Japan, and the Philippines, with smaller numbers from India and Korea) whose internal differences in language, culture, politics, and history had created obstacles to interethnic cooperation.[9] In the years following World War II, U.S.-born Asians for the first time began to outnumber the foreign-born segment, and by the 1960s the Asian American population as a whole looked significantly different from previous eras. Americans of Asian descent continued to be concentrated in large metropolitan areas on the West Coast and in Hawai'i, and Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos remained the largest ethnic groups. Yet these communities also saw a growing second and third generation who tended to be more Americanized and more geographically dispersed than their first-generation parents or grandparents. At the same time, they were less divided along ethnic lines by linguistic barriers, cultural attachments, and homeland politics. Multiethnic interaction among this younger, native-born cohort occurred perhaps most prevalently on university and college campuses, where student activists, starting on the West Coast, sparked momentum for a historically new movement.[10]

In 1968 Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee, graduate students at the University of California, Berkeley, spearheaded an organization called the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA). Both Ichioka and Gee were already involved in civil rights and leftist activities but realized they and other young Asian Americans were participating in isolation. Motivated to build a cohesive structure for these activists, Ichioka and Gee famously telephoned every recognizable Asian name on the local Peace and Freedom Party list and established the AAPA in the spring of that year. The AAPA became the first group to call itself "Asian American," a term Ichioka coined.[11] Alliance chapters soon appeared on other campuses, signaling the formal beginnings of a panethnic racial identity that aimed to bring together Asians of all ethnicities. This identity was both a novel and an oppositional concept: it symbolized for Asian Americans not only a break from ethnic-specific identifications of the past but also a rejection of mainstream labels such as "Oriental." Movement veteran Karen Ishizuka notes that "more than just a descriptor," the term "Asian American" constituted a "seismic shift in consciousness," a political act of self-naming that "subverted the Orientalist tradition of lumping all Asians together."[12]

That same spring, a coalition of black, Asian American, Native American, and Chicanx undergraduates at San Francisco State College formed the interracial Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) and pressed for reforms in the school's curriculum, personnel, and admissions. When the administration balked on promises to diversify the faculty and student body, the TWLF organized a massive strike in the fall of 1968, what was to be the longest student strike in American history.[13] Back at UC Berkeley, Asian American students were galvanized by the events at San Francisco State and helped launch a separate TWLF strike in early 1969. Though neither strike obtained all its goals, both struggles resulted in the opening of the first ethnic studies programs, including Asian American studies, in the country.

What started with campus activism in the West soon burgeoned into an eclectic movement that stretched nationwide. Over the next several years, working- and middle-class Asian Americans from different ethnicities and generations embarked on a wide range of grassroots initiatives, from establishing political groups and artists' cooperatives to advocating for Asian American women's rights and creating Serve the People programs in ethnic ghettos. By the start of the 1970s, dozens of organizations, programs, and campaigns had emerged in Boston, Seattle, Honolulu, Stockton, Detroit, New Haven, and other urban areas and rural towns across the nation. The characteristics and timing of this early phase of the Asian American movement reflected its primary influences. Domestically, the antiwar and Black Power movements were significant in catalyzing the AAM and informing the movement's ideological framework. Working from such concepts as self-determination and self-pride, Asian Americans saw themselves as part of a Third World inside the United States—as people of color systematically exploited and oppressed by hegemonic white society—and demanded the right to control their own educations, institutions, and communities.[14] As large-scale protests against the Vietnam War swelled in the late 1960s, Asian American activists also came together around their critique of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. Solidarity with Third World decolonization movements and especially Vietnamese independence became an integral part of the AAM, which from the start maintained an overtly transnational perspective.

The AAM was forged in the crucible of these events as a vibrant movement within the larger constellation of New Left activism, which was at once internationalist and local and which advocated both a pan-Asian ethnicity and interracial alliances.[15] Although not all activists were revolutionaries, the AAM adopted a radical orientation that sought justice, equality, and power by confronting the racist and imperialist underpinnings of American society.[16] Thus the Asian American movement shared with other Third World movements within the United States the common aim of liberation rather than integration; but for AAM activists, that vision was also grounded in particular historical conditions. "Our 'roots' go deep into the history of the United States," Franklin Odo noted in his 1971 preface to *Roots*, the first published anthology on Asian Americans,

"and they can do much to explain who and what we are and how we became this way." Odo suggested, however, that the construction of Asian America was neither fixed nor determined and must derive from a multiplicity of perspectives. "These are critical times for Asian Americans," Odo wrote, "and it is imperative that their voices be heard in all their anger, anguish, resolve and inspiration."[17]

Such sentiments doubtlessly resonated with high school–age activists. From school campuses to the streets of ethnic enclaves, Asian American teenagers in the late 1960s began to articulate and act upon their opposition to the status quo in ways that both mirrored and complicated the broader contours of the AAM. Teenage activists pointed to a double invisibility: as nonadults, they were outside formal political processes; as Asian Americans, they were either ignored or misrepresented by mainstream society.[18] "Too long we have let go the discrimination and remained silent. Too long we have failed to act and fight to protect our own well being," wrote Mitchell M. Matsumura. "Even though high school students do not have the responsibility to run or lead the nation, we can at least be aware and care about our communities[,] problems, and issues."[19] Indeed, for many of these youngsters, stepping into the Asian American movement entailed a new kind of awareness that often began with a process of questioning themselves, their relationship to others, and their place in America.

"United Asians, First"

Warren Mar was sitting in his junior high school class one day in 1967 when a stranger "with long hair and wearing an army jacket and combat boots" entered the room. "He walked straight up to the teacher," Mar remembered, "and said he wanted to talk to me outside." Several days earlier, the fourteen-year-old Mar, a second-generation Chinese American born and raised in San Francisco's Chinatown, had been arrested following a local fight. Mar was charged with "gang activity," even though he was not in a gang. That day in class, Mar walked outside with the boot-clad visitor, who "introduced himself as Allen." Mar recalled: "He said he had heard about my bust and asked if I needed a lawyer for my court date at the Youth Guidance Center. Hell, yeah! We were to meet with the other guys that got busted at one of the pool halls that night. That was my first introduction to the new Asian American left."[20] The visitor, Allen, was a member of what would soon be called the Red Guard Party, a militant group founded by San Francisco Chinatown youth, including teenagers, in the late 1960s. Formed out of a predecessor youth group named Leways (Legitimate Ways), the Red Guard had ties with the Black Panthers, with whom some Leways members had already been studying revolutionary theory and reading the works of Mao Zedong, Che Guevara, and Frantz Fanon.[21] Though at first the young Mar resisted joining the Asian American movement, ironically "because [of] its theoretical trappings," his early encounter with the Red Guards provided a starting point for his politicization. By his junior year of high school, Mar had become chair of the community-based Chinatown North Beach Youth Council and was orga-

nizing for youth rights and services. "This was one of the defining points of my life," Mar said, "because it put political decision-making as a central focus of my life."[22]

Like Mar, Rose Ibanez was a young teenager when she was first exposed to the Asian American movement. "Growing up . . . during the late 1960s to early 1970s was very exciting," she recalled. "Besides the typical experiences of going out with friends and dating, there were many turbulent political issues in America that affected our lives." In the Filipino American community, Ibanez noted, these included the "struggle for racial equality / immigrant rights," as well as "opposition to the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines." An early influence for Ibanez was her older sister, who was part of a Filipina American group at San Diego State University. Later, when Ibanez entered high school, she and her classmates formed the Third World Students club and tried to establish ethnic studies courses at the school. These events laid the groundwork for Ibanez's participation in the AAM, which continued throughout her high school and college years. Ibanez eventually became a member of the radical Union of Democratic Filipinos (Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino, or KDP), one of the most prominent Filipino organizations in the panethnic movement.[23]

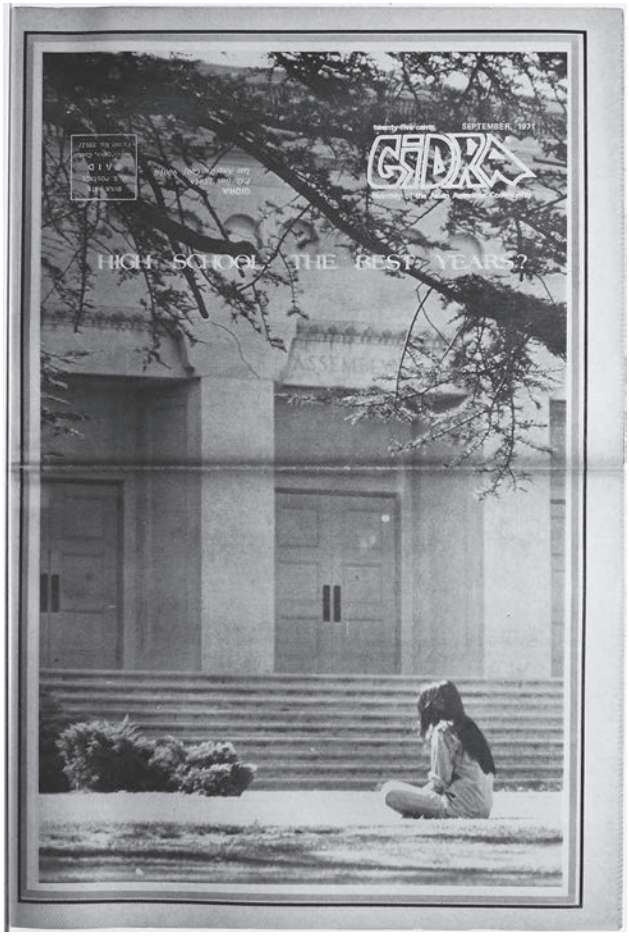
Though Mar, Ibanez, and other teenage participants entered the Asian American movement from varied regional and economic backgrounds and avenues, they shared certain similarities. One shared factor was the marginalization they experienced growing up in a society that had long racialized people of Asian descent as non-American or somehow different. Mar remembered that in San Francisco's Chinatown, nearly all the police officers were white, and some would "regularly harass kids, and when they felt like it beat us up."[24] Youths in Los Angeles's Chinatown reported similar incidents of racist police harassment and violence and stated, "We are tired of being called 'chink'" and "chinaman."[25] Helen Zia, who spent her childhood and adolescence in New Jersey, recalled, "It was so unusual to see a person of Asian descent that people would stop what they were doing and gawk rudely at my family wherever we went." Zia likened the spectacle to a "freak show at Barnum & Bailey's circus, where Chinese were displayed as exotic creatures in the late 1800s, along with the two-headed dog."[26] Japanese American Nelson Nagai grew up in the agricultural town of Stockton in California's Central Valley, where communities of Asian immigrants had settled throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Even though we are third- and fourth-generation Americans," Nagai pointed out, "we are still treated like foreigners in our own country."[27]

For many AAM-involved youngsters, this status as nonwhites and the related pressures of conformity, which at times emanated from within their families or ethnic communities, resulted in confusion about their identity.[28] As one teenager anonymously acknowledged in an article for *Gidra*, the most widely circulated publication of the AAM, "Throughout most of my life, I never wanted to consider myself an Asian. In my mind, I wanted to be a white person." Despite this young person's search for "equality *through a white person's eyes*" and at-

tempt to "act as 'white as possible,'" acceptance never materialized. Drugs became an outlet until the teen realized the roots of this internal conflict: "Just from living in our society, I was made to believe that Asians were on a lower level than whites. . . . We are labeled 'Japs, Chinks,' and other racist terms so often that we sometimes start to question our own human righteousness."[29] Another youth shared a similar story. His inability to find inclusion at his predominantly white high school by trying "to be white" had led to "soul searching" through drugs. Participating in the Asian American movement proved a crucial turning point. "I learned to be proud of myself as an Asian," the student said, "by seeing and working with the movement."[30]

While self-identity was a focal point in the Asian American movement as a whole, it was especially salient for the younger participants. On the one hand, teenagers looked to the immediacy of their circumstances as they tried to make sense of their alienation from dominant society. The musician and activist Fred Ho explained that at the age of sixteen, he became a "revolutionary seeking to understand why, after trying so hard to assimilate and to be accepted, that I still faced racism."[31] On the other hand, high school–age youth grew increasingly conscious of the ways people of Asian descent had been racialized and subordinated as a homogeneous group. Mitchell Matsumura, a movement field organizer for high school students in the Los Angeles area, countered that dubious logic by turning it on its head and calling for panethnic pride and solidarity. "The White majority takes us . . . as the racial group called Asians," he wrote. "They treat all who are consisted in this group the same." Matsumura urged fellow Asian American teens to respond by creating "a sense of brotherhood" and a strategic cohesion among themselves. If the majority "see us as Asians," he argued, "the best way to change them is to work as united Asians, first."[32]

For Matsumura and other movement teenagers, the adoption of a panethnic identity as "Asian Americans" was not only about the process of personal struggle but also a means of subverting the white power structure by reclaiming and defining their own collective identity. If Asian American identity remained necessarily in flux, teenage activists could agree that its definition entailed both an affirmation of the histories and experiences of Asian youth in America and a rejection of the prevailing social and political order. Rather than "trying in vain to adapt and gain acceptance in this system," as one high schooler wrote, Asian American youth must "make the system accept us and adapt to us."[33] The foremost task in developing this panethnic consciousness was to dismantle existing stereotypes about Asian Americans. By the late 1960s, the thesis of the model minority—the notion that Americans of Asian descent had overcome discrimination and achieved (among other barometers) economic and educational success—had moved to the forefront of public discussions about Asian Americans, revealing some of the defining tenets and contradictions of Cold War liberalism.[34] As the AAM expanded in the early to mid-1970s, teenage activists infused their own outlook and strategies into the movement's wider critique of the model minority myth.



Cover of *Gidra* magazine, September 1971. Courtesy of Gidra, Denshō: The Japanese American Legacy Project.

Refuting the Success Stereotype

In an article for the September 1971 issue of *Gidra,* New York teenager Eddie Kochiyama wrote a searing editorial against the high school as a social institution. "High schools, and all schools," he argued, "create competition among students, prevent the sharing of knowledge, and inhibit a true education of one another." Kochiyama used the example of the "tracking system" in New York City, which placed students starting from an early age into different tracks according to presumed academic abilities. "It just so happens," Kochiyama noted wryly, "that practically all the kids in the 'lower' classes are Third World and most of the kids in the 'higher' classes are white, with a few colored tokens thrown in." These "tokens" included Asian American students selected not necessarily be-

cause of merit but because of misconceptions. "We get leveled and stereotyped everyday," Kochiyama continued. "Asians are stereotyped as hardworking, docile, fragile and extremely intelligent students. We as Asians must realize that we got that label mainly because of tokenism, and specifically to divide us from our other Third World brothers and sisters. We are being *used*," he cut to the point, "as a model minority."[35]

Kochiyama's piece, part of a special *Gidra* issue featuring submissions by high schoolers, revealed an incisive if succinct understanding of the model minority stereotype and its problematic nature. While the trope of the model minority was popularized starting in the mid-1960s, its origins lay in earlier liberal efforts to reconcile America's claim to leadership of the postwar democratic world with the regimes of inequality at home. Cold War liberalism hinged on a staunch anticommunism; yet with "its universalist claims on science and progress," according to historian Robert Lee, liberal ideology also "required an adherence to a doctrine of racial equality" that could be presented as an alternative to communism.[36] Hence liberals supported the dismantling of Jim Crow segregation and other blatantly racist restrictions as essential to the maintenance of America's friendly image and connections abroad.[37] These relations included pivotal alliances in Asia, a region Washington increasingly viewed at midcentury as a critical battleground of the Cold War.[38]

For Asian Americans, Cold War liberalism had ushered in a particular set of new freedoms and paradoxes. By the early 1950s, Congress had abolished federal laws that barred immigration from Asia and prohibited Asians from becoming naturalized citizens, but the repeal of exclusion proceeded piecemeal and was largely symbolic (race-based quotas remained until 1965). Meanwhile, the liberal approach to race had engendered a striking shift in the national narrative about Asians in America. For decades portrayed by dominant discourses as dangerous, unassimilable, and unfit for national inclusion, Asian Americans emerged in the public eye during the 1950s and explicitly after the mid-1960s, in the wake of urban upheavals like the Watts riots, as the reverse: assimilable, economically mobile minorities who encapsulated America's promise as a multiracial democracy. In this paradigm, Asians had attained success due to supposed cultural attributes such as perseverance, discipline, and respect for family—and they had accomplished this, sociologist William Petersen declared in 1966 in a *New York Times Magazine* feature on Japanese Americans, by "their own almost totally unaided effort."[39] The antithesis of what Petersen labeled "problem minorities," Asian Americans became the invented model minority, exemplars of racial and economic equality realized not through structural or institutional changes but through individual ambition, self-reliance, and political acquiescence.

From the start of the AAM, participants vigorously repudiated the model minority idea. In her 1971 introduction to *Roots*, for instance, activist Amy Tachiki delineated some of the underlying assumptions and fallacies of the stereotype. The "seemingly positive" celebration of Asians as model minorities, she wrote,

was created by the majority and "hardly for the benefit of Asians or other nonwhite minorities." Tachiki pointed out that the recent media interest in the Asian American success story was built on a racist framework, one that discounted the continuing oppression of other people of color, especially African Americans, by presenting an unbalanced, distorted picture of Asian Americans. The model minority myth thus attempted "to validate the fundamental soundness" of America's existing capitalist democracy and to "support the 'truth'" of a purportedly color-blind society.[40] Not least, the myth relied on the racialization of Asian Americans as now different both from the white majority and from other racial minorities. "It is well known," activist Bruce Iwasaki wrote, "that the ambivalent nature of white racism makes of Asian Americans both victim and executioner. Subordinate to whites, but manipulatively used to keep down blacks and Chicanos, Asians are oppressed members of the Third World, but also occasionally tokens."[41]

Teenagers in the AAM added their own refutation of the success stereotype and its implication that barriers to equality and inclusion no longer existed for Asian Americans. One important strategy youngsters used was to shed light on the challenges specific to their peer group. As Eddie Kochiyama and other teens argued, the high school was the principal institution where authorities employed and perpetuated the success myth, at least partly as a tool for social control. Mitchell Matsumura reported that at a youth workshop in Los Angeles in 1972, high school "students began to voice their opinions and criticisms" and discuss "their experiences concerning personal problems," including the prevalence of stereotyping at their schools. "The school tracking systems were mentioned," Matsumura wrote, "and how students are 'divided and conquered' on the basis of color and test scores." Similar to Kochiyama's observations, Matsumura noted that Asian American students were being "put into higher 'tracks' regardless of their personal limitations, by teachers and counselors who stereotype Asians by labeling them culturally intelligent." This artificial and divisive competition led to tensions between students of color and "fighting among [Asians] ourselves." Students "are tired of being manipulated, indoctrinated, and ignored" in the repressive environment of the high school, Matsumura argued, and "want to help out in the construction and structuring of their own educational system and process."[42]

Youth criticism of the success stereotype also extended beyond the school setting. In contrast, for example, to the media's fanciful representations of Chinatowns—"islands of peace and stability," *U.S. News & World Report* had crooned in 1966, where "you discover youngsters at grips with their studies" and few "getting into difficulty"—activists pointed to the poverty, unemployment, irrelevant education, substandard housing, and police brutality teens faced in Asian ethnic ghettos.[43] Young people in San Francisco's Chinatown "have taken to the streets to build a new way of life," read a 1971 joint publication of the Red Guard Party and New York–based revolutionary group I Wor Kuen, whose founding memberships included street and working-class youth.[44] "Unable to find em-

ployment, having virtually no decent place to find recreation," high school–age youth resorted to drugs and avoided school altogether. Teenage activists spoke about similar conditions in New York, Oakland, and other Chinatowns around the country where there were large segments of young people and where youth and children were encountering "real problems every day."[45]

In southern California, AAM teenagers brought attention to the acute issue of drug abuse among both the urban and suburban Asian American youth populations. In early 1973, for instance, high schooler Pam Eguchi, a former drug user, testified to a congressional committee regarding the widespread availability of barbiturates on school campuses. Eguchi was a member of Asian Sisters, a grassroots organization made up primarily of teenagers between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. Established in Los Angeles in 1971, Asian Sisters had been created by a group of young Asian American women to combat drug use, particularly by third-generation (Sansei) Japanese Americans.[46] As part of a student panel at the congressional meeting, Eguchi informed the committee of the existence of youth-run groups like Asian Sisters and underscored the urgency of regulating the profit-driven drug industry rather than implementing surface solutions such as campus crackdowns.[47]

Like Eguchi, teenage activists connected local, community-based issues to a broader analysis of inequality in America. This approach was evident in their involvement in Serve the People campaigns, which aimed to identify and meet the needs of the different Asian American communities. The West Los Angeles–based youth organization Involve Together Asians (ITA) offered not only drug counseling and other outreach programs but also a study group whose goal was to form "a collective ideology . . . based upon a comprehensive understanding of those conditions from which social ills originate." ITA leaders believed that subjects like Asian American history and racism "should be an integral part of everyone's education," including at the primary and secondary school levels. But since "the pursuit of such knowledge" was not available in mainstream educational institutions, ITA promised to help fill the void through collective study and self-teaching as the organization continued "striving to better understand the struggles of Asians in America" and finding "alternative social, economic, and political programs to serve the people."[48]

By addressing through both rhetoric and practice the realities affecting them and their peers, youngsters in the AAM repudiated the dominant construction of Asians as well-integrated, successful minorities—and, more pointedly, portrayals of Asian teenagers as the industrious but inert corrective to the juvenile delinquent. Serving the community was itself a concrete rejoinder to the model minority myth and an act of claiming power for the people. In place of the success trope, movement teens sought to formulate meaningful alternative narratives of Asian American youth not as exceptional to other minorities of color but as sharing in a common struggle for liberation. As the United Asian Students, a political organization at Los Angeles High School, entreated, "We must realize that the Asian group as with all other groups, is a unique and different ethnic

group, because of its heritage and history . . . but we must not ignore other Third World BROTHERS and SISTERS."[49] If unity and self-determination were essential to the building of Asian America, the "struggle for freedom and equality," in the words of high schooler Robert Wu, must also extend to "all mankind."[50]

"The Future of the World"

Perhaps more than any other issue, the Vietnam War brought together various participants of the Asian American movement and solidified for many the imperative of a Third World consciousness. In her 1973 report on AAM activism in New York, for example, sansei Merilynne Hamano wrote that her "most impressive experience" was "participating with the Asian Contingent in the Anti-War Demonstration in Washington D.C." This contingent included a group of Asian American activists from the East Coast and Midwest—New York, Ohio, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C.—who had convened in the capital to demonstrate against the U.S. war in Vietnam. The New York coalition alone, Hamano recounted, included "Asian people from a broad spectrum of *ethnic groups* (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Indian); *political orientations* (many were sent as representatives of other organizations such as I Wor Kuen, National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines, etc.); [and] *ages* and *backgrounds* (young workers, Junior high and college students, older Niseis)." In conjunction with the interracial umbrella group November 4th Coalition, the Asian contingent marched to the Washington Monument on January 20, 1973, the same day as Richard Nixon's second inauguration. The weather was below freezing, Hamano described, yet the rally ballooned to one hundred thousand strong: "As far as you could see—people! There were more of us than at Nixon's Inauguration."[51]

From the perspective of AAM activists, the war was not merely a mistake or an aberration in U.S. foreign policy but only the most recent example of a history of imperialism and racial injustices inflicted on Asian peoples abroad and in America. The racism that underlay the dehumanization of Vietnamese as "gooks," that condoned the hypersexualization of Asian women, that singled out Asian American GIs during military training as "examples" of the enemy—this was the same racism, activists contended, that Asian Americans at home encountered individually and in their communities.[52] "We see the Vietnam War not as an isolated issue," stated the Asian Coalition of Los Angeles, "but as an issue that is directly related to our day to day reality." Opposition to the war was about more than bringing the troops back, as was often stressed in the mainline antiwar movement. It was about fighting against the institutionalized processes that oppressed Third World peoples.[53]

AAM teenagers likewise espoused an internationalist viewpoint, linking the conflict in Vietnam to the Third World struggle in America and to racism targeted at Asians. The Van Troi Anti-Imperialist Youth Brigade, an Asian American group based in Los Angeles, explained that "we support the Vietnamese

struggle for self-determination because they are only fighting for their basic fundamental human rights to live in peace without foreign intervention. . . . As Asians, we must wholeheartedly support their struggle for we both have a common enemy": imperialism. The brigade specifically criticized the presence of capitalist interests such as Standard Oil, Honeywell, and Sony in Vietnam and contended that these were the same corporations that were "destroying our people here at home in the Chinatowns, J-towns, barrios, and other Third World communities."[54] As part of their antiwar activism, teens joined large-scale protests like the 1973 demonstration in Washington, D.C., and organized their own contingents and rallies. At George Washington High School in San Francisco, Asian American members of the interracial High School Coalition (HSC) helped plan a mass walkout of students to coincide with national May Day activities. "The coalition put all efforts into the preparation of the walkout, writing leaflets, showing political films, inviting radical speakers to classes and beginning a radical student newspaper (Dare to Struggle)," the HSC wrote. "In these ways we felt we would educate the students and build the spirit of the people to walk out of school against the war in Indochina."[55] On the day of the walkout, a crowd of three to four hundred students gathered for the demonstration, chanting and marching through the hallways before making their way outdoors.

Even as youngsters agreed with many of the core concepts and positions forwarded by older activists, they reminded their peers that high school–age youth were an important element within the antiwar movement and the Asian American movement more generally. Both the HSC and the Van Troi Brigade, for example, emphasized not just the capability but also the willingness of teenagers to become politicized and to advocate for change. Reflecting on their May Day walkout, HSC members asserted, "High school students are definitely a part of the power of the people needed to change this system. . . . We recognize the necessity to take part in the struggle for liberation of ourselves and all oppressed people of the world."[56] The Van Troi Brigade's aim of being an "action oriented mass-base of youth" derived in part from seeing "our sisters and brothers of high school age young and confused, channeling all their energy into escapes . . . and not really dealing with the meaning of their lives."[57] One teenager, writing about his experience in a brigade protest, encouraged his peers to take seriously their responsibility as the youthful generation: "Never will I forget the spirit of cooperation, the spirit of working as a collective unit, the spirit of struggle," he wrote. "We showed *ourselves* that we can do it. We are the future leaders, and the future of the world depends on us."[58]

Not everyone endorsed that fervor, however. High school activists like Carol Uyehara at times expressed frustration with the apparent lack of political interest of peers and classmates. "Are we too afraid," Uyehara asked, "to give a better life for ourselves, our children, and children's children? Think about it, brothers and sisters—where are you?"[59] Some Asian American youth, moreover, directly opposed and even took umbrage at the movement's purpose and platforms. In a letter to the *Daily Bruin* at the University of California, Los Angeles, one student

questioned the very feasibility of "uniting the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean communities" and argued that Asian Americans in any case should be adopting rather than rejecting white norms.[60] Teenager Robert Wu responded by explaining that the purpose of the AAM was not for Asians to "assimilate and become an integral part of the American society" but to "help establish an acceptance" of them "as equals." "It is about time," Wu chided, that those like the writer "got off their apathetic asses and stop trying to decide which way to go because while you are trying to decide, you are making it more difficult for change to occur."[61]

Such debates were not new—previous generations had also diverged on issues such as self- and community identity—yet they gestured toward a different paradigm for Asian American youth and political participation. As activists in the AAM, teenagers in the late 1960s and 1970s not only contributed to the genesis of Asian America, what Karen Ishizuka calls "the home we never had," but also established a precedent for radical collective action by high school–age youth of Asian descent.[62] The conviction that Asian American teenagers have a role to play in the realization of a just society nationally and globally, that they can be a compelling "force for change," as one member of the group Young Spirits stated in 1974, is only one part of a legacy that merits further historical examination.

NOTES

1. On pre-1965 political activism among Asian American communities, see Pei-te Lien, *The Making of Asian America through Political Participation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 1–41.
2. Daryl Joji Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 1. Michael Liu, Kim Geron, and Tracy Lai have likewise noted that "scholars of 1960s and 1970s activism have ignored the contributions and actions of the AAM" (*The Snake Dance of Asian American Activism: Community, Vision, and Power* [Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2008], 2).
3. For overviews of the movement, see, for example, Maeda, *Rethinking*; Liu, Geron, and Lai, *The Snake Dance*; and William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993). More specific monographic treatments include Karen L. Ishizuka, *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties* (New York: Verso, 2016); Diane C. Fujino, *Samurai among Panthers: Richard Aoki on Race, Resistance, and a Paradoxical Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Daryl J. Maeda, *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); and Estella Habal, *San Francisco's International Hotel: Mobilizing the Filipino American Community in the Anti-eviction Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007). For anthologies and archival collections, see especially Amy Tachiki et al., eds., *Roots: An Asian American Reader* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 1971); Fred Ho, ed., *Legacy to Liberation: Politics and Culture of Revolutionary Asian Pacific America* (San Francisco: AK Press, 2000); Asian Community Center Archive Group, comp., *Stand Up: An Archive Collection of the Bay Area Asian American Movement, 1968–1974* (Berke-

ley: Eastwind Books, 2009); and Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu, eds., *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001). On the historiography of the movement, see Daryl Joji Maeda, "The Asian American Movement," in *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*, ed. David K. Yoo and Eiichiro Azuma (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 182–202; Diane C. Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement? A Historiographical Analysis," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 11 (2008): 127–69.

4. Though high school–age participants are mentioned in some studies, they are not the primary focus. See, for example, Glenn Omatsu, "The 'Four Prisons' and the Movements of Liberation: Asian American Activism from the 1960s to the 1990s," reprinted in *Asian American Studies: A Reader*, ed. Jean Yu-wen Shen Wu and Min Song (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 164–96.
5. Min Zhou and Jennifer Lee argue that Asian American youth overall have been "almost entirely omitted from research on youth and culture in the United States," an elision "deeply rooted in the legacies of racism and legal exclusion" ("Introduction: The Making of Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity among Asian American Youth," in *Asian American Youth: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity*, ed. Min Zhou and Jennifer Lee [New York: Routledge, 2004], 9). Scholarship on youth activism primarily focuses on the contributions of black children and teenagers. See Gael Graham, *Youth Activists: American High School Students in the Age of Protest* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006); Rebecca de Schweinitz, *If We Could Change the World: Young People and America's Long Struggle for Racial Equality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
6. Kent Ono and Vincent Pham note that the yellow peril trope has remained "perhaps the longest-standing stereotypical representation" of Asians and Asian Americans (*Asian Americans and the Media* [Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009], 25). On the construction and discourse surrounding the model minority, including the roles Asian Americans themselves played in the invention of the stereotype, see especially Madeline Hsu, *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015); Ellen Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014); and Cindy I-Fen Cheng, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race during the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).
7. On Orientalism and Asian Americans, see Henry Yu, *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
8. Originally a Maoist slogan, "Serve the People" within the context of the AAM generally referred to a community-centered approach to creating programs and institutions for Asian Americans. See especially Ishizuka, *Serve the People*, 115–32.
9. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 19–25. The juridical and de facto exclusion Asian immigrants faced once they settled in America contributed not only to the social but also to the physical separation of prewar Asian American communities from each other and from mainstream society. See, for example, Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 45–78.
10. For a discussion of demographic and residential shifts, see Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850–1990* (Stanford, Calif.:

Stanford University Press, 1993), 17–78; Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 49–70.

11. Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity*, 34.
12. Ishizuka, *Serve the People*, 62.
13. The standoff lasted for 167 days despite violent clashes with police and hundreds of arrests. As Glenn Omatsu notes, the TWLF strike at San Francisco State College was the "first campus uprising involving Asian Americans as a collective force" (Omatsu, "The 'Four Prisons,'" 168).
14. Amy Uyematsu, "The Emergence of Yellow Power," *Gidra,* October 1969, 8. For a comparative discussion of Asian American and other Third World activism, see Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
15. I use Van Gosse's definition of "New Left" as "encompassing all of the struggles for fundamental change from the early 1950s roughly to 1975," which he argues hews to the "original and more inclusive definition" of the term (*Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretive History* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005], 5).
16. On the radical nature of the Asian American movement, see, for instance, Omatsu, "The 'Four Prisons'"; Maeda, *Rethinking*; and essays in Ho, *Legacy to Liberation*.
17. Franklin Odo, preface to Tachiki et al., *Roots*, 7–8.
18. For a larger discussion of high school activism and dissent during the 1960s and 1970s, see Graham, *Youth Activists*.
19. Mitchell M. Matsumura, "High School Asians Come Together," *Gidra,* February 1971, 10.
20. Warren Mar, "From Pool Halls to Building Workers' Organizations: Lessons for Today's Activists," in Louie and Omatsu, *Asian Americans*, 35–36.
21. On the relationship between the Black Panthers and Red Guards, see Fred Ho and Steve Yip's interview with Alex Hing, former Red Guard minister of information and founding member of I Wor Kuen, in Ho, *Legacy to Liberation*, 279–96.
22. Mar, "From Pool Halls," 33.
23. Rose Ibanez, "Growing Up in America as a Young Filipina American during the Anti–Martial Law and Student Movement in the United States," in Louie and Omatsu, *Asian Americans*, 75.
24. Mar, "From Pool Halls," 35–37.
25. Mike Eng, "Chinatown," *Gidra,* September 1972, 7–8; Chinatown Youth, "Police in Chinatown," *Gidra,* September 1972, 8.
26. Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of an American People* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), 9.
27. Nelson Nagai, "I Come from a Yellow Seed," in Louie and Omatsu, *Asian Americans*, 252.
28. On the processes of identity formation for the postwar generation of Asian American youth, see, for instance, Gloria Heyung Chun, "Shifting Ethnic Identity and Consciousness: U.S.-Born Chinese American Youth in the 1930s and 1950s," in Zhou and Lee, *Asian American Youth*, 113–28; Paul R. Spickard, "What Must I Be? Asian Americans and the Question of Multiethnic Identity," in Wu and Song, *Asian American Studies*, 255–69; Pyong Gap Min, ed., *The Second Generation: Ethnic Identity among Asian Americans* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2002).
29. "Finding Myself," *Gidra,* September 1971, 6. Unless otherwise noted, emphasis is in the original text. *Gidra* began publication in April 1969 and became the longest-

running paper of the Asian American movement. On the AAM's other alternative press, see Wei, *The Asian American Movement*, 101–31; Ishizuka, *Serve the People*, 141–53.

30. "Something to Be Proud Of," *Gidra,* September 1971, 7.
31. Fred Ho, "Fists for Revolution: The Revolutionary History of I Wor Kuen / League of Revolutionary Struggle," in Ho, *Legacy to Liberation*, 3.
32. Matsumura, "High School Asians," 11.
33. "Finding Myself," 6.
34. For discussions of race and Cold War liberalism, see, for example, Robert G. Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); Carol A. Horton, *Race and the Making of American Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
35. Eddie Kochiyama, "High School," *Gidra,* September 1971, 4.
36. Lee, *Orientals*, 159–60.
37. See Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).
38. See Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).
39. William Petersen, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," *New York Times Magazine*, January 9, 1966, 21.
40. Amy Tachiki, introduction to Tachiki et al., *Roots*, 1–2.
41. Bruce Iwasaki, "Woodstock / Third World Nation," *Gidra,* October 1970, 5.
42. Mitchell Matsumura, "Amerasian Youth Day," *Gidra,* June 1972, 10; "Hey Baby!," *Gidra,* October 1972, 7; "Student Rights: What We Want and Deserve," *Gidra,* January 1973, 13.
43. "Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.," *U.S. News & World Report*, December 26, 1966, reprinted in Tachiki et al., *Roots*, 6–9.
44. The Red Guard Party and I Wor Kuen merged in 1971 to form the Asian American movement's first nationwide revolutionary organization.
45. "Leways Invaded by Pigs," *Getting Together*, special West Coast edition, February 1971, reprinted in Asian Community Center Archive Group, *Stand Up*, 200–201; "Police in Chinatown," *Gidra,* September 1972, 8. Rocky Chin noted, for example, that approximately 35.5 percent of New York Chinatown's population was under the age of seventeen. Rocky Chin, "New York Chinatown Today: Community in Crisis," in Tachiki et al., *Roots*, 290.
46. See Mary Uyematsu Kao, "Three-Step Boogie in 1970s Los Angeles: Sansei Women in the Asian American Movement," *Amerasia Journal* 35 (2009): 22–24.
47. "Former Drug Abusers Testify," *Gidra,* January 1973, 3.
48. Mitchell Matsumura, "Involve Together Asians," *Gidra,* April 1973, 22.
49. "United Asian Students," *Gidra*, June 1972, 14.
50. Robert Wu, "Telling It Like It Is," *Gidra,* June/July 1970, 19.
51. Merilynne Hamano, "A Cold Resistance," *Gidra,* March 1973, 4.
52. For example, I Wor Kuen interview with Sam Choy, reprinted in *Gidra*, May 1970, 10; "G.I.s and Asian Women," *Gidra,* January 1971, 3, 15; Mike Nakayama, "Winter Soldiers," *Gidra,* July 1971, 12.
53. Asian Coalition, "On White Antiwar Movement," *Gidra,* March 1973, 20; Iwasaki, "Woodstock / Third World Nation," 5.
54. "Statement from the Van Troi Anti-Imperialist Youth Brigade," *Gidra,* September 1972, 4.

55. High School Coalition San Francisco, "Mayday at Washington High School," *Gidra,* June 1971, 14.
56. Ibid.
57. "In Solidarity, the Van Troi Brigade," *Gidra,* November 1972, 11.
58. Eddie, Letters, *Gidra,* October 1972, 2.
59. Carol Uyehara, "Asians Come Together," *Gidra,* September 1971, 10.
60. Edward C. Long, "Reflections in a Slanted Eye," reprinted in *Gidra,* June 1969, 2.
61. Robert Wu, "Blind Reflections," *Gidra,* July 1969, 2.
62. Ishizuka, *Serve the People*, 1.

Dictating Their Own Future

INDIGENOUS STUDENT ACTIVISTS, CULTURAL RELEVANCY, AND SHAPING THE EDUCATION OF FUTURE GENERATIONS

PAUL MCKENZIE-JONES

In 1954, at the first annual conference of the Southwest Regional Indian Youth Council (SRIYC), inaugural president Beryl Spruce (Laguna–San Juan Pueblo) challenged the educational and cultural passivity of American Indian high school and college students. Based at the University of New Mexico, the SRIYC emerged from an annual conference of the Santa Fe Indian Youth Council that was held in collaboration with the Kiva Club of Indian students at the university. The Kiva Club recognized traditional motifs in its name: a kiva served as an underground ceremonial room that Pueblo Indians used in the centuries prior to Spanish invasion of their homelands and continue to use into the present. At the 1954 annual conference in Santa Fe, organizers promoted college education as an attainable goal for American Indian students of the local Pueblo schools, as well as for those attending the Santa Fe Indian School.

In an evocative opening speech, titled "We Are Born at a Time When the Indian People Need Us," Spruce accused his fellow students of having "false pride," being "lazy," and feeling defeated "before you even start." Spruce explained to his predominantly high school student audience that they were more likely to drop out of school than their white counterparts, arguing that, "You're quitting before you even get started." During the 1950s, American Indian per capita high school graduation rates were extremely low in New Mexico, with an average of three student graduates per fifty to sixty American Indian student enrollees graduating. A decade later, student activists criticized administrators, the culturally and intellectually oppressive policies of the federal government, and the educational system itself for these dropout rates. Spruce, however, blamed his peers rather than the system for their predicament. He argued that their ancestors had courage, pride, and self-discipline. He lamented, "Those are things we seriously lack today. We don't have them anymore. We're cowards. We can't face the world." He instructed, "Respectability comes from inside. It's you, people. It's in your hearts. No, we're not proud. We're not proud at all. We don't even care about ourselves."[1] In the context of long-standing assimilationist federal and educational policies

that shaped students' experiences at home and in the classroom, Spruce's views may not seem unfounded. For him, educational and political self-determination relied on personal ambition rather than collective efforts.

While he scolded his fellow students' self-pity, he reassured them that they could succeed at college while retaining their Indigenous identities. Curious about college life, high school students attended the conference, and Spruce's words heightened their awareness about the struggles they might face as minority students in higher education: "Whether you live among white people or whether you don't, you can still be Indians. You can still pray the Indian way. You can still think the Indian way. . . . [Y]ou can still be an Indian in a white man's world." He also urged the students to return to their home communities after graduation: "By our birth we're dedicated to our race. *We are born at a time when the Indian people need us!* There is nothing else we should do except work among the Indians and with the Indians."[2]

Charles Minton, executive director of the New Mexico Association on American Indian Affairs and formal sponsor of the SRIYC, later described Spruce's 1955 speech as "the Gettysburg Address of Indian Education" and claimed that it had been circulated to other youth councils across the United States, inspiring a desire for education among young Native students that was "difficult to estimate."[3] Spruce's speech informed rising student activists such as Clyde Warrior (Ponca) and Mel Thom (Paiute), who embraced his rhetorical methods of attack in their own speeches and articles. Both had been members of the SRIYC and were part of a group of Native students who formed the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) in 1961. The NIYC was a self-proclaimed "movement" rather than an organization; its founders were determined to create concrete changes in American Indian lives, and it became instrumental in Indigenous educational reform in the mid-1960s. Both Warrior and Thom openly castigated the bureaucratic oppression of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and both maintained that the BIA inculcated a culture of self-pity and, to an extent, self-loathing attitudes within Indigenous communities in general and American Indian youth in particular. Their speeches were laced with contempt for the system and the people it produced.[4] Spruce's speech certainly influenced other American Indian students attending the SRIYC conference, and those students, including students from Arizona State College and high school and college students from Colorado and Utah, continued the conversations on their respective campuses. One such student was Herb Blatchford (Navajo), who attended the 1954 SRIYC conference. Another founding member of the NIYC, he was considered a "visionary." He rejected the "supremacy of white cultural values" and pushed the message that "young people should work to preserve" their individual cultures.[5]

This chapter documents a growing commitment to education among young American Indian activists from the late 1950s to the early 1970s during the political upheaval of the civil rights era. This activism helped facilitate the advent of the current era of semiautonomous American Indian political governance that began with the passing into law of the Indian Self-Determination and Ed-

ucation Assistance Act of 1975. The efforts of these young American Indian activists reformed American Indian education at the K–12 and higher levels over the next two decades and retained a sense of cultural and intellectual autonomy when the federal government slowly stripped American Indians of political and economic sovereignty. These reform initiatives ultimately laid the framework for many state and federal Indigenous educational initiatives still in place today.

Education as Cultural Genocide

To appreciate the significance of Spruce's words and why Minton's assertion was not mere hyperbole, it is important to understand the history of colonists and the U.S. government's assaults on American Indians since European contact. This history is a long and troubled story of religious conversion, forced assimilation, and brutal physical, sexual, and mental assaults on multiple generations of Indigenous children. At its core, this history is one of Western ethnocentrism and paternalism, born of a conviction that the Indigenous peoples of the Americas were unsophisticated savages who needed to conform to "civilization." Toward the end of the "Indian Wars" of the nineteenth century, the federal government deemed Western-style education the most expedient civilizing force, wherein these assumed childlike "savages" (an attitude that underscored the earlier "ward" status foisted on American Indian nations by the U.S. government during the relentless westward expansion of the nineteenth century) could evolve into something akin to their more sophisticated Western betters.[6] Captain Richard H. Pratt, pioneer of the federal Indian boarding school program, extolled this view in an 1892 speech before an Indian Affairs convention. Referencing an 1869 comment made by famed Indian fighter General Philip Sheridan, Pratt advocated, "A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one. . . . [I]n a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man."[7] Pratt believed that Western education could eradicate the cultural identities of Indianness and thereby create more worthwhile and recognizably human specimens in the process. Student activists fought against this educational legacy.

From colonial-era Spanish conquistadors forcing Catholicism across what is now the southwestern United States, to the Puritan praying towns of the Northeast, to federal boarding schools of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century U.S. settler-colonial administrations, education served as a weapon of ethnocide against Indigenous populations. There were brief moments of respite, such as the Meriam Report–inspired Johnson O'Malley Program of 1935, which allocated federal funds to integrate Native American schoolchildren into the wider public school system without a stated mandate to force them to forgo their own cultures. However, the federal boarding school system did not formally end until the 1980s, when assimilation ceased to be the de facto educational aim regarding Native children.[8]

During the mid-1950s, however, federal education policies and attitudes toward American Indians slowly began to change. As African American families fought against exclusion from the mainstream educational process, Native American students and parents also fought to free themselves from the suffocation of forced inclusion. Under pressure from organizations such as the NIYC and the National Congress of American Indians (NCIA), as well as individual tribal governments, the BIA began the gradual process of phasing out federal boarding schools in favor of integrating Indigenous schoolchildren into the public education system. Originally created under Pratt's mandate of "kill the Indian, save the man," education at boarding schools usually consisted of vocational training for boys and domestic training for girls, modeled after Reconstruction era schools for black children.[9] Religious institutions, including Catholic and Baptists churches, often administered this dehumanizing system, which was designed to break the will of every child. Curricula were predicated upon the refusal to allow children to speak their own languages, practice their cultures, or maintain their belief systems, with extreme forms of punishment such as beatings, being locked in isolation, starvation, and sexual abuse if students broke these rules.[10]

As the government began the slow process of phasing out this system in the early 1960s, Native American students also sought to assert themselves intellectually and culturally on the few college campuses they attended across the country, changing the way their histories and cultures were represented in the educational system. Even as bureaucrats in the BIA began to consider educational reform, House Concurrent Resolution 108 of 1953, also known as the Termination Bill, exposed non-Indigenous policy makers' assimilationist attitude. HCR 108 systematically targeted tribes in specific states that the U.S. Congress deemed capable of surviving without the financial aid of the federal trust relationship as stipulated by the treaties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In short, the plan was to terminate the federal trust relationship to "get out of the Indian business." By 1964, 109 tribes had been stripped of their federal trust status: twelve thousand American Indians had lost their tribal citizenship, and 2.5 million acres of land had been transferred from tribal control to public and private ownership.[11]

Education as Cultural Survival

Unlike African Americans, who fought for school desegregation in the 1950s, American Indians pushed for the right to maintain their distinct cultural integrity and identities. Ironically, while many states also segregated American Indians, the federal government's racist reforms from the late 1800s until the 1970s focused on forced assimilation into white American culture.

Contrary to the assimilationist aims of the federal government, American Indians hoped that Western education would integrate traditional Indigenous history and culture. Educational policy promises were included in treaty rights

dating back to the years of American westward expansion and Indigenous land loss. Rather than acculturate, as Indigenous treaty signatories hoped for, the federal government replaced traditional Indigenous education entirely. There were no attempts to acknowledge cultural differences among Native communities as a "one-size-fits-all" policy was instigated. There was no intellectual or cultural accommodation for students growing up in Ponca City, Oklahoma, or reservation Indians growing up near places like Rapid City, South Dakota. Even Pueblo Indians, like those students who formed the Kiva Club, and urban, relocated Indians growing up in cities like Dallas, Chicago, and San Francisco were all subjected to the same program of cultural genocide.

Spruce's SRIYC, formed in 1954 after the passage of HCR 108, focused on education and connected with Indian students' campus organizations. SRIYC programs included issues such as cultural retention and revitalization, mineral and reservation exploitation, voting rights, intertribal relationships, intercultural relationships, and the protection and perpetuation of traditional arts and crafts. The government's obligations to honor treaty agreements regarding funding, education, and health care remained central to all these issues. In 1961 SRIYC expanded to include student groups from college campuses across Oklahoma. Supervisor Charles Minton outlined three SRIYC objectives: (1) "to stimulate Indian youth to acquire . . . skills that would . . . be of service to the tribes and communities"; (2) "to expand their circle of Indian acquaintance"; and (3) "to acquire an understanding of the varied and complex problems in Indian affairs, so they will work together . . . to improve conditions among Indian people."[12] Ultimately, he envisioned increasing interactions between regional college students who would promote federal education policies with confidence.

Amid this small yet powerful student revolution in the South and the Southwest, students engaged in similar educational reforms in the West. In 1956 Dr. Sol Tax, an anthropologist at the University of Chicago, along with his graduate students Robert "Bob" Thomas (Cherokee) and Al Wahrhaftig, instituted the Workshops on American Indian Affairs, which served as a practical extension of Tax's concept of "action anthropology." Tax encouraged anthropologists to insert themselves into Indigenous communities (in this case, students) and create opportunities for those communities without infringing on members' decision-making processes. Encouraging self-determination among Native peoples, Tax pushed anthropologists to observe "values in action," including problem solving.[13]

While the workshops offered American Indian students a chance to discuss and analyze Native histories from their own perspectives, they were also "controlled" classroom environments in which Tax and his graduate students could "intervene, study, and help." Rather than mere classroom instruction, Tax's concept of intervention and assistance revolved around anthropological concepts and cultural psychology in which the students' behavior and academic choices were grounded in their home environments. The main purpose of the workshops, then, was to help "the young Indian student find himself."[14]

Despite organizers' tendency toward classification and pigeonholing students, Tax and his colleagues wished to confront students' "marginality" status. Issues of marginality and limited cultural and community immersion resulted from the legacy of the boarding school system, through which most of these students' parents had traveled. As a result, many workshop students were no longer connected to their own cultures compared to Indigenous generations growing up before the boarding school era. As a result, workshop organizers classified their students by using cultural immersion as a yardstick for Indianness at one end of the scale and marginality at the other.[15]

These anthropologists sought to "acquaint" Native communities "with their history and heritage." An understanding that other youth shared their plight, these action anthropologists believed, would increase community members' "self-confidence and their ability to cope with their own problems." Tax's early teaching methods ensured that he could "reconcile projects" to keep the students motivated with "the notion that Indians would do best if they were allowed to make their own mistakes."[16]

The workshops received sponsorship and funding from Indian "reform groups" or "friends" such as the Indian Rights Association, the Association on American Indian Affairs, Arrow, Inc., the Mission Groups of the Protestant Denominations, and the Board of Home Missions of the Congressional and Christian Churches, as well as private foundations like the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation, Inc. In many ways, the sponsorship goals of these groups mirrored the assimilationist intentions of the late nineteenth-century Friends of the Indians, who had guided Senator Henry Dawes's policy of individual allotments rather than communally controlled reservations.[17] "Success" was measured in purely Western terms, even as the workshops sought to instill pride in American Indian cultural heritage. Crucially, the workshops also, according to Rosalie Wax's report, had the full endorsement of the National Congress of the American Indians. In later years, the source and nature of this funding of the workshops' educational objectives and formation of curricula resulted in frustration among the students, who regarded this as simply another example of white paternalism circumventing Indigenous cultural frameworks.[18]

By the mid-1960s, several students had rejected these workshops and the attempts of youth council organizers (who were older than the students) to impose their solutions to problems rather than providing opportunities for students to devise their own agendas. For students who had been promised more intellectual and personal freedom at the workshops, organizers' alleged paternalistic attitudes inspired a sense of betrayal and undermined students' desire for leadership.

The students attending the workshops ranged in age from sixteen to twenty-one and belonged to different tribal communities across North America. In 1961 they came from culturally prominent tribal communities such as the Oglala Sioux in South Dakota, the Navajo in Arizona, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa from North Dakota, the Ojibway in the Great Lakes, the Saulteaux in

1961 Workshop on American Indian Affairs group photograph. In 1961 several workshop students formed the National Indian Youth Council, which by the end of the decade was a leading advocate for American Indian culturally relevant education. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer Modern MS McNickle.

Canada, and many Oklahoma nations, including the Osage, Muscogee (Creek), and Ponca. In total, twenty-one tribes and fifteen states were represented at the 1961 workshop, including Seneca-Cayuga tribal chief Richard Whitetree, who at age twenty-one was the youngest chief of his tribe. Whitetree embraced the type of leadership that workshop organizers hoped to inspire among participating students.

Such a diverse cultural group brought the potential for conflict among students with different worldviews while also creating learning spaces outside the classroom. Rosalie Wax, in her 1961 report on the early years of the workshops, noted that such conflicts were often short lived and that "despite difficulties and disagreements, the students learned a great deal." Later, "many spoke of their workshop experience with warmth and appreciation."[19] Documented student evaluations supported Wax's assertions. They regarded the workshops as "very educational" because they "learned views of the other tribes" and af-

1962 workshop friends in dance regalia (*from left*): Kathryn Red Corn, Tom Eschief, David Roybal, Louise Tansy, Clyde Warrior, Bernadette Eschief. Cultural events were a strong component of the workshops' downtime and occasionally included dance performances for local sponsors. This picture was taken at one such event and shows how deeply connected with their cultures these students were, despite years of government assimilation policies. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer Modern MS McNickle.

firmed that they "came from different tribes, backgrounds, and states" but "got along nicely." One student acknowledged that "we are far better now in understanding the matters we have discussed." Robert Dumont, who became one of the NIYC's leading education reform advocates, noted after the 1961 workshop that "it cannot be said we learned about Indian problems and legal procedures, for we learned more than these things. We learned of ourselves."[20] The desire to see themselves reflected in classroom settings drove the NIYC and other workshop alumni to push for cultural relevancy reform in the American education system.

In 1961 Sol Tax convinced many American Indian tribal leaders to convene in Chicago and craft a unified American Indian voice for incoming president John F. Kennedy. D'Arcy McNickle (Salish Kootenai), who led the Boulder workshops, wanted participating students to attend the conference and observe these tribal leaders. "A body of recommendations to guide Indian programs in the future," which resulted in the Declaration of Indian Purpose, served as a blueprint for students' own futures as responsible tribal leaders. Five weeks af-

ter the Chicago conference, organizers proceeded with the standard workshop structure, including seminar discussions of anthropological studies of folk societies, and guest lectures from tribal leaders and other significant figures in federal Indian relations.[21]

In August 1961 youth councils, workshops, and Chicago conference participants, including several young American Indians who would later be in the vanguard for educational reform, met in Gallup, New Mexico, to form the NIYC. Students expressed a sense of frustration during the Chicago conference when tribal leaders silenced youth participants due to their lack of knowledge and experience. Empowered by the camaraderie that had emerged from the youth councils and workshops, these American Indian students wanted to shape the future of Indian Country rather than simply listen politely to well-intentioned educators and dismissive tribal politicians. Students also opposed tribal leaders' dismissal of traditional tribal elders' authority. The future of American Indian education was a prominent issue for many of the activists, given their common background as students and workshop alumni. To them, traditional elders represented a resource for creating an environment of culturally relevant education in American schools and colleges, from kindergarten to postsecondary education. Elders and the newly founded NIYC wished to build the future of Native education on reciprocal teaching environments.[22]

Education and Cultural Relevancy

NIYC leaders' experiences as workshop students and their cultural upbringing informed their conceptualization of culturally relevant education. As culturally immersed as they were at home, they never saw their lives or experiences reflected in the classroom until they attended the workshops. Here, course offerings such as Indian History and Current Life Situation, Study of the White Man, Indians in the 1960s, and Comparative Minority Problems provided students with their first opportunities to discuss their histories and cultures in an affirmative academic setting.[23] Rather than hearing that assimilation was the inevitable and beneficial outcome of education, they now interrogated their own economic and social situations in contrast to other cultures. By the end of the decade, having outgrown the initial workshop curriculum, NIYC students were dictating the future direction of the workshops, as well as conducting their own experimental immersion projects in tribal schools. They envisioned for the workshops a new direction in which the curriculum would emphasize "self-determination, responsibility, and free choice for Indians" while also engaging "issues and problems of American Indian community development."[24] In these tribal schools, the culturally specific emphasis on tribal histories, languages, and cultural studies accompanied general educational requirements such as English, math, and science. Equally important to the NIYC, however, was the act of taking these schools out of the control of local white-dominated school boards and creating "Indian school boards comprised of tribal members."[25] For

a successful curriculum, the school boards needed to be culturally aware, immersed, and knowledgeable.

The NIYC was not, however, the only group that met in the fall of 1961 to discuss the future of Indian youth after the Chicago conference. On September 13, 1961, the National Committee for Children and Youth (NCCY), the BIA, the NCIA, Arrow, Inc., the Indian Health Service, and the Association on American Indian Affairs gathered for a meeting entitled "Problems of Young People of American Indian Heritage" in the Jefferson Room of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. While the NIYC focused its agenda on the attitude of American Indian teachers and how they could help high school and college graduates find a place in the world, the participants of this meeting focused on Indian high school and college dropouts. Dr. Edward Greenwood, a member of the NCCY and a child psychologist whose professional expertise was in education, physical activity, and mental health issues, stressed the relationship between the Indian community and the individual as a critical objective for successful educational reform. Greenwood explained, "In order to understand the problems of children and youth, unless we understand the entire dilemma of the Indian population in the U.S., it's unfair to talk about just the American Indian youth."[26] He suggested that neglect rather than cultural marginalization caused the growing number of Indian dropouts. While Greenwood directed the focus toward Native communities, the NIYC saw "neglect" resulting from white educators' assimilationist and genocidal techniques. Often this neglect was benignly intentioned in nature, albeit misinformed and fundamentally racist. For example, in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, school administrators professed their color-blindness, noting, "We don't care what they [American Indian pupils] are."[27]

Ultimately, the ambitions of the meeting's organizers conflicted with NIYC's and Native education reformers' aims. The SRIYC's workshops had proven an informative and rewarding approach for many Indigenous college students. Greenwood proposed a similar transformation of the high school curriculum for Indian students. Rather than completely tearing down the system, he suggested redirecting the "old concept" of vocational training to a system in which "vocational training should be based on potential needs in industry, local or national." However, this focus failed to address Indigenous communities' needs. Mrs. Thomas Herlihy, Greenwood's supervisor and NCCY's chairperson, stressed that the people attending the meeting were there because of their "particular interest in the problems of Indian youth" and because they "were in a position to be articulate about the problems." While NIYC leaders usually mistrusted social workers, teachers, and bureaucrats, Greenwood insisted that "leadership must come from within the Indian group." His concerns resonated with Indigenous youths' vision to take control over their own educational futures, even as their methods and goals diverged.[28]

Mamie Mizen, who represented both the BIA and the NCIA's chief executive, Helen Peterson, at the meeting, rejected the then commonly held theory that American Indian children reached an educational and intellectual plateau at

the age of fourteen, which also marked the age of the highest number of high school dropouts. Like Greenwood, Mizen exhibited a greater cultural sensitivity toward Indigenous youth, something that many Indian affairs "experts" often lacked. She also addressed the need for community-focused education, which the NIYC had been calling for and would independently adopt later. She insisted that it was the social environment of American Indian education that caused low self-esteem and feelings of marginality among American Indian students. Mirroring the gender-biased rhetoric of the 1960s, she observed that "the Indian child at 14 years becomes conscious of the social attitudes about him, the things he has to contend with that other children do not have to contend with, and under the pressure of those attitudes and of the difficulties that he has he begins to wonder what it's all about. He goes to school and the textbooks discuss our Indian wars, the bloodthirsty savages, etc., and he begins to wonder at about 14, 'I am Indian. Does this mean me?'"[29] Her comments reflected the workshop organizers' focus on creating a space where students would not be faced with racist tropes about their cultural values; instead, they would learn how to correct this issue on a national scale.

Greenwood acknowledged that many children rejected public schools, where they often could not identify with anyone. He maintained, "You can't grow a greenhouse plant and then set it out in the sun and expect it to live." The attendees were faced with a dilemma: "Either we make up our minds that Indian youth should be educated for their role in an integrated society or for the role they might play on the reservations." The NCCY leadership did not consider combining different reforms to advance these children's ability to thrive in either future.[30]

Despite Greenwood's earlier comment that leadership must come from Indian communities themselves, the committee consisted of concerned non-Indians, rather than American Indians, deciding what they thought best for the future of American Indian children. NCIA members' attendance and the conference's recognition of contemporary Indigenous communities in the education system did not meet young American Indian activists' expectations. They viewed the path to authentic culturally relevant education as being achievable only through an educational system devised and directed by American Indians themselves.

Despite their own lack of a concrete program for solutions, the NIYC continued to make progress identifying additional problems. In 1964 board member Clyde Warrior proposed a simple solution: a "drastic and revolutionary economic and education program, in which Indian communities make the basic decisions with the BIA in an advisory capacity."[31] As he and other NIYC members insisted, policy makers might have arrived at solutions sooner if they had relied on American Indians' experiential insights and cultural knowledge. In 1966 Warrior asserted that policy makers constantly proclaimed, "Well, it's their fault. What they should do is get educated." However, he maintained, "American Indians are fed up with this. They know that that's not the problem. They

know it's the system." The goal should not involve changing American Indians. Instead, the education system itself must better reflect the cultural worldviews of the students being educated.[32]

Conversely, the NIYC's involvement in Upward Bound helped address conflicting worldviews and the lack of cultural relevancy, which members had identified as key factors in Indian children's failure to complete or even attend school. Many of the activists felt that this was a natural progression of their previous commitment to the United Scholarship Services (USS), which aimed at helping underprivileged students, in this case American Indians, successfully transition from high school to college. In 1964 the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) formed Upward Bound. Because American Indian communities ranked among the poorest in the nation, many of President Lyndon B. Johnson's community action programs directed resources to resolving challenges American Indians confronted. USS and Upward Bound received funds to reorganize American Indian education.[33] Upward Bound programs mirrored the USS in helping to prepare high school students for college education. In 1965, during Johnson's rollout of the Great Society, eighteen pilot summer programs of Upward Bound opened across the country. After the project helped drastically increase the number of graduating students, the number of summer camps rose to 220. Indigenous activists criticized the program for still focusing on hegemonic educational targets of acceptance of Western ideologies. Several NIYC board members joined the Indian Advisory Committee on Upward Bound even as they remained convinced that high school graduation offered limited tangible cultural support.[34]

During a 1966 Upward Bound conference, board members asserted that Upward Bound, as an extension of educational practices at standard public schools, was just another attempt "to wash [American Indian] students in white paint." NIYC member Clyde Warrior argued that Indian children became "warped and twisted" by their experiences in the classroom, and, to be effective, Upward Bound needed to "make the shit we all waded through a little shallower for those who follow." Warrior and other board members saw cultural relevancy as the key to a brighter, more successful educational experience. Warrior proposed that lessons and programs should "fit into the content of the world of the kids—so they won't be scared." Fellow NIYC members Tillie Walker (Mandan) and Browning Pipestem added a note of compromise to Warrior's words by insisting that these measures needed to take place without a complete rejection of Western culture. They acknowledged that there must be a balance between competent American Indian educators and teaching "white culture" so that "Indians can take advantage of it." Warrior suggested that more meetings were necessary for these ideas to take hold, with "Indians in the central stages" to ensure that these ideas materialized into actual programs.[35]

The NIYC remained convinced that education served as the strongest weapon young American Indians could arm themselves with. NIYC leaders applied for funding to sponsor the Institute of American Indian Affairs as an alter-

1962 Workshop on American Indian Affairs group photograph. The workshops were foundational in the students' shift from acceptance of the educational status quo to the activism and advocacy that changed so much of how American Indian education was formulated, including the creation of university ethnic studies and American Indian studies programs and departments. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer Modern MS McNickle.

native to the Boulder workshops. In September 1966 the NIYC, in conjunction with the Office of Economic Opportunity, conducted a review of two Upward Bound projects in New Mexico and Oklahoma. The projects were designed to help American Indian students enroll in and graduate from college. Members remained suspicious of the methods and motives of the organization's directors.[36] They demanded improvement to Native students' education, aligning with the intellectual direction of the new workshops.[37]

The first project under review consisted of five Mescalero Apache students attending Eastern New Mexico University at Portales, New Mexico, while the second review observed students of Southwestern State Teachers College in Weatherford, Oklahoma. Both reviews uncovered bored, disaffected students, reflecting similar observations at Tahlequah High School in Cherokee country in Oklahoma. This appeared to confirm the NIYC's worst fears about Upward Bound administrators' practices, which ignored considerations for cultural relevancy in students' preparation for college. Ultimately, it appeared that all the Upward Bound classes were designed to create "sophistication in the American culture" rather than integrate knowledge of Indigenous cultures.[38]

Considering the unsatisfactory results of Upward Bound projects, NIYC leadership became much more proactive in generating culturally relevant education projects for young American Indian schoolchildren. Rather than simply sitting on the board of existing organizations that were under the control of the federal government, the NIYC created its own projects, such as the Educational Services to American Indian Communities (ESAIC), which consisted of three divisions:

research, training, and development. The ESAIC relied on tribal kinship and extended family networks in the "development and working out of programs for their communities."[39]

In early 1967, once the ESAIC was operational, the NIYC applied for a $27,500 grant from the Ford Foundation. The successful grant application funded educational research projects that would allow the NIYC to "provide a bridge between the tribal community and the urban technological worlds." In short, the Ford Foundation grant funded solutions to the problem that the attendees of the "Problems of Young People of American Indian Heritage" meeting failed to grasp. The approved project itself met with mixed results.[40]

The NIYC also sought the expertise of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development to create a "10 school study" in conjunction with the ESAIC's research division. In 1966 a congressional mandate created twenty of these regional laboratories to improve educational practices through hands-on research projects. The joint study would be used to institute model schools in specific American Indian communities across the United States. The project concluded that ninth-grade Native schoolchildren in the Tahlequah study had "gone through nine years of public school education" and "still can't read." Organizers were more determined than ever to make this project a success.[41] The proposal projected that these new schools were to be supervised by the ESAIC development division at the same time as formal summer school projects were developed for sixth to eighth graders. These summer schools "would be structured around the basic notions of Upward Bound but (their) primary basis of operation will be within the community and secondarily in the school and college." This reemphasis on the community reflected a clear recognition of the holistic educational systems that had been the cornerstone of precolonial Indigenous communities before the intrusion of Western education systems, which so clearly failed American Indian schoolchildren. Within this broad framework was a commitment to give each participating community the freedom to develop teaching models that were pertinent to their own cultural worldviews, incorporating "how they define goals of learning and how one is to be taught and how one is to learn."[42]

Twelve months later, Far West and the NIYC produced separate progress reports on the success of the school projects. Out of ten schools only four sustained enrollments at a high-enough rate to be considered functional. Among the more successful projects introduced to the remaining communities were Family Participation Programs, which involved the parents in "some meaningful educational activity." In these programs, parents assisted with students' social, cultural, and academic adjustment into formal academic settings. One of the surviving schools was based on the Mescalero Apache reservation. Despite the low number, graduating students were featured in one of the Upward Bound reports. NIYC deemed this project a success. The three remaining surviving communities were the Ponca of White Eagle, Oklahoma, the Oglala Lakota in Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and the Crow Agency in Montana. Each of these com-

munities was considered by the federal government to be among the most culturally traditional but also economically devastated Indigenous communities of the United States. The success of their schools spoke volumes about the value of culturally relevant education in assuring young American Indian children's academic success. They were now taught their tribal histories and languages through lesson plans that incorporated more culturally specific components.

Ultimately, however, in the course of the following year, the NIYC abandoned the project, citing epistemological differences with Far West. Determined that its success should not be ignored, the NIYC targeted other avenues of exploration for its projects, such as reimagining the summer workshops for older students and engaging the commissioner of Indian Affairs with NIYC's pedagogical ideas for younger schoolchildren.

At the same time as NIYC college students attempted to make school life culturally relevant for future generations, a similar project was launched on the Navajo reservation. In 1966 Dr. Robert Roessel, founder of the *Journal of American Indian Education*, started the Rough Rock Demonstration School in an attempt to counter Bureau of Indian Affairs educators' cultural insensitivity at the reservation's day schools.[43] Roessel was convinced that a pedagogical system based upon a foundation of tribal language, history, and culture, like the system used at the NIYC model schools, would enable Navajo students to succeed educationally. Like the NIYC project, the Rough Rock Demonstration School involved family and kinship networks as much as possible within this system.[44] In yet another similarity, the school board consisted entirely of Diné citizens. In his historical overview of the Rough Rock School for the *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, John Collier Jr. (son of John Collier Sr., Indian New Deal creator and former Commissioner of Indian Affairs) argued that this school was also a success in Navajo cultural terms after measuring the self-esteem of participating children.

Under Western-focused rather than Diné-centric standardized testing of national curriculum subjects of math, science, and American history, examiners deemed Rough Rock students' failures who required remedial educational correction. Collier had observed that in 1973, "Navajo personnel dominated the school, and Navajo parents continuously visited classrooms and ate with their children in the school cafeteria." He also noted: "Each classroom had its own rhythm with no apparent central direction. In effect, the classrooms appeared to run themselves, and teachers spent their time teaching rather than supervising interaction." Such was the "novelty" of culturally relevant education at the time that the school was a magnet for journalists and educational policy makers in the early years of its success. The fact that the school was only deemed a failure after Western standards were applied was not lost on Collier. In his 1988 essay, he maintained, "It was clear that white educators failed to recognize the possible achievements of the Rough Rock School." Conversely, the school was more interested in student achievements such as increased self-confidence, bilingual fluency, self-discipline, and a commitment to learning. Western testing failed to measure these outcomes.[45]

Despite the demise of the Rough Rock School and the perceived "failure" of the NIYC's model schools, federal attitudes toward American Indian education were slowly moving toward a clear and determined strategy of creating learning spaces for Indigenous intellectual self-determination. The passage of the Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act in 1975 signaled a new era for American Indian education that mirrored many of the initiatives introduced by the young students of the NIYC just under a decade earlier. The act created space for tribes to start their own schools, which emphasized tribal languages, histories, and cultures and ensured cultural continuity and the survival of intellectual sovereignty for future generations.

Since the 1970s problems have remained within American Indian education, and drop-out rates among Indigenous youth occur at higher percentages compared to those of other races. Self-determination programs could not eradicate overnight the misinformation perpetuated in the American education system, nor could they end the cultural and intellectual dislocation Indigenous students felt within that system. As of 2018 the national Native American high school graduation rate, excluding Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) schools, was 63 percent. The graduation rate at BIE schools was only 53 percent, compared to a national average of 82 percent high school graduation. Higher education rates saw 60 percent of Americans enter college, compared to 17 percent of American Indian high school graduates.[46] While these statistics represent an improvement since the passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, they prove that NIYC's messages remain as pertinent now as they were in the 1960s. Self-determinative tribal education policies include a growing number of tribal immersion schools operating on reservations and in off-reservation communities. The evolution of the tribal college system witnessed the increasing presence of language and culture initiatives in schools across the country, including the (re)introduction of land-based pedagogies. Most of these projects revolve around cultural immersion or at least cultural relevancy, such as the Aaniiih Nakoda College in Montana, which contains a language immersion cohort of three-, four-, and five-year-old children learning on the same campus alongside college-age students. The success of immersion schools like Aaniiih Nakoda, the Sequoyah School in Oklahoma, and others, speaks to the lasting legacy of those young, dissatisfied, and impatient American Indian students of the 1960s who decided to take matters into their own hands and change the system themselves.

American Indian education in the late twentieth century evolved primarily because of Indigenous students' determination to transform the hegemonic educational systems. During the 1950s a small number of American Indian students were targeted as experimental subjects in summer workshops, where they experienced organizers' (mostly) white paternalistic assumptions of intellectual superiority. In response to this experiment, these students emerged as the intellectual architects of groundbreaking culturally relevant educational pro-

grams. They also set an example for future generations of American Indian students, scholars, and communities, to (re)assert control over their learning programs from as early an age as possible.

Embedding policies of cultural relevancy within the hegemonic education system remains challenging today. Governmental educational authorities continue to misconstrue national celebrations such as Thanksgiving for factual representation. However, a new generation of Indigenous educators is determined to carry forward the legacy of these early innovators. Successful efforts include the removal of Native American mascots from school sporting events and campuses, to adding language classes for middle and high school students, while pushing states such as Montana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to pass legislation mandating culturally relevant education in all K–12 institutions. Much work still needs to be done, though. For example, Montana's self-congratulatory but largely anemic public school policy of Indian Education for All shows how teachers who are poorly trained in cultural relevancy or Indigenous protocols often repeat the same racist stereotypes in the classroom that are reflected in the larger society, thus perpetuating ignorance rather than promoting knowledge.

Increasingly, however, a growing number of Indigenous intellectuals have been expanding the boundaries of Native American education and cultural relevancy far beyond what those early activists could accomplish. Native educators like Heather Shotton (Wichita) have created frameworks for better understanding Native American student needs within the education system, and in 2004 Sandy Grande (Quechua) published the groundbreaking *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought*. These texts and many others, including *Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies in Education: Mapping the Long View*, by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Eve Tuck, and K. Wayne Yang (2018), identify issues of hegemonic dominance in educational theory and in American Indian education. They offer ways forward for states and educators to adapt new American Indian education programs that celebrate and integrate Indigenous worldviews and cover educational levels from preschool to college. Further, they envision holistic environments in which Indigenous cultures are not targeted for removal or taught as disappearing/disappeared but held up as values to be incorporated into everyday educational environments. Such publications and the Indigenous educators who produced them, as well as the world they seek to build for Indigenous students, represent the lasting, living legacy of the change the 1960s student activists created.[47]

NOTES

1. Beryl Spruce, "We Are Born at a Time When the Indian People Need Us," New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs newsletter, January 1958, 1–3.
2. Ibid., 2.
3. Charles E. Minton, "The Place of the Indian Youth Council in Higher Education," *Journal of American Indian Education* 1, no. 1 (1961): 54–55.

4. Ibid.
5. Bradley G. Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 44.
6. For more on Western educational attitudes toward American Indians, see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893–1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008); and Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).
7. *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1892, 46–59, reprinted in Richard H. Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," in *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 260–71.
8. The following references address the history of conquest and the boarding school system more extensively: Robert J. Miller, *Discovering Indigenous Lands: The Doctrine of Discovery in the English Colonies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993); Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Laurence French, *Legislating Indian Country: Significant Milestones in Transforming Tribalism* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007). The Meriam Report was a 1928 investigation into conditions on American Indian Reservations and in American Indian boarding schools. It is named after the lead investigator, Lewis Meriam. It flagged extreme levels of disease and malnutrition on reservations and among schoolchildren, leading to the implementation of reform programs in the 1930s.
9. A comprehensive examination of the influence of black industrial schools on Richard Pratt can be found in Mary Stout, *Native American Boarding Schools* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2012).
10. Capt. Richard H. Pratt, "Kill the Indian, and Save the Man," speech delivered at George Mason University, 1892, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/teach/kill-indian-and-save-man-capt-richard-h-pratt-education-native-americans (accessed October 15, 2017).
11. Steven L. Danver, *An Encyclopedia: Revolts, Protests, Demonstrations, and Rebellions in American History* (Westport, Conn.: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 1038.
12. Minton, "The Place of Indian Youth," 55.
13. Albert L. Wahrhaftig, "Looking back to Tahlequah: Robert K. Thomas's Role among the Oklahoma Cherokee, 1963–1967," in *A Good Cherokee, a Good Anthropologist: Papers in Honor of Robert K. Thomas*, ed. Steve Pavlik (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 93. For a more extensive discussion of the workshops, see Paul McKenzie-Jones, "Evolving Voices of Dissent: The Workshops on American Indian Affairs, 1956–1972," *American Indian Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 207–36.
14. Ibid., 36.
15. Eaonhwinon Patricia Allen, "Historical Trauma and Healing from the Boarding School Era," http://lastrealindians.com/historical-trauma-and-healing-from-the-boarding-school-era-by-eaonhawinon-patricia-allen/ (accessed September 11, 2017).
16. Ibid., 1.
17. The General Allotment Act of 1887 was the first major federal assimilationist policy

initiative of the posttreaty era. Concerned that communal tribal ownership of reservation land was inhibiting the transition into mainstream American culture and society and the conversion to Christianity, the Friends of the Indians convinced Dawes to introduce a bill to divide the reservations into individually allocated allotments. The Dawes Act coincided with the rise of the Indian boarding school system.

18. Rosalie Wax, "A Brief History and Analysis of the Workshops on American Indian Affairs," October 1961, folder 37, box 33, Murray Wax Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago. Arrow, Inc., was an offshoot of the NCIA that was formed in part to offset crippling tax charges by the federal government. For more information, see Thomas Cowger, *The National Congress of American Indians: The Founding Years* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001). Also see Paul McKenzie-Jones, *Clyde Warrior: Tradition, Community, and Red Power* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 129.
19. Wax, "A Brief History."
20. Student assessments, folder 3, box 7, Robert Rietz Papers, Native American Educational Series NAES Collections, University of Chicago Library Special Collections.
21. "Education for Leadership," 1961, folder 3, box 7, Rietz Papers.
22. For more on the NIYC, see Shreve, *Red Power Rising*.
23. "Course Outline for 1961 Workshop on American Indian Affairs," folder 3, box 7, Rietz Papers.
24. Robert Dumont to Iola Hayden, January 26, 1968, folder 38, box 5, NIYC Papers, Center for Southwest Studies, University of New Mexico.
25. Ibid. This desire was also reflected in Lyndon B. Johnson's speech on March 6, 1968, "Special Message to the Congress on the Problems of the American Indian," in which he outlined his forthcoming policy proposals for American Indian educational and socioeconomic reforms. His commissioner of Indian Affairs, Robert Bruce, later admitted the influence of American Indian advocacy groups such as the NIYC in formulating these policy proposals.
26. "Summary Report of the Meeting Concerning the Problems of Young People of American Indian Heritage," September 3, 1961, folder 32, box 6, Helen Peterson Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
27. This case study was part of a larger comparative analysis conducted by the University of Kansas into the cultural implications of differing educational experiences of rural and urban American Indian children. See also McKenzie-Jones, *Clyde Warrior*, 129.
28. "Summary Report," 4.
29. Ibid., 6.
30. Ibid., 4.
31. Clyde Warrior, "On Current Indian Affairs," *Americans before Columbus*, May 5, 1964, 2.
32. Clyde Warrior, interview with Stan Steiner, September 1966, recording in author's possession.
33. For more details of the connection between Johnson's Great Society and American Indian education reform and activism, see Daniel M. Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).
34. William James, "Upward Bound: Portrait of a Poverty Program, 1965–1985," 5, folder 3, box 7, Oklahoma Division of Student Assistance Archive, Rietz Papers.
35. Shreve, *Red Power Rising*, 152–54; Richard Frost to Clyde Warrior, April 29, 2006,

folder 4, box 1, Robert Dumont Papers, NAES Collection, University of Chicago Library Special Collections.

36. McKenzie-Jones, *Clyde Warrior*, 130.
37. Karen Rickard to Clyde Warrior, October 1966, folder 1, box 3, NIYC Collection.
38. "Combined Evaluation of Upward Bound Projects," September 8, 1966, folder 17, box 488, Wax Papers.
39. NIYC Ford Proposal, submitted July 126, 1967, folder 7, box 2, Dumont Papers.
40. Ibid.
41. McKenzie-Jones, *Clyde Warrior*, 129.
42. Robert V. Dumont, "The Quality of Indian Education and the Search for Tradition," 2, speech before the annual meeting of the National Indian Youth Council at the ninetieth annual Ponca Powwow, folder 482, box 12, Wax Papers.
43. Teresa L. McCarty, *A Place to Be Navajo: Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Indigenous Schooling* (London: Routledge, 2002).
44. John Collier Jr., "Survival at Rough Rock: A Historical Overview of Rough Rock Demonstration School," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (1988): 253–69.
45. Ibid., 69–71.
46. "Graduation Rates and American Indians," http://blog.nativepartnership.org/graduation-rates-american-indian-education/ (accessed February 1, 2018).
47. Heather J. Shotton, Shelly C. Lowe, and Stephanie Waterman focus on creating culturally relevant spaces for American Indian students in higher education and are regularly cited in studies relating to American Indian student retention by universities and research groups. See Heather J. Shotton, Shelly C. Lowe, and Stephanie J. Waterman, eds., *Beyond the Asterisk: Understanding Native Students in Higher Education* (Sterling, Va.: Stylus Publishing, 2013); and Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004).

"The White[s] Say They Are American, but They Are Not"

SUBVERSIVE PAMPHLETS MAILED BY AMERICAN CHILDREN AND TEENS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 1972–1984

CARA ELLIOTT

In May 1972 Vernon, a Navajo sixth grader from Crownpoint Elementary School in Crownpoint, New Mexico, wrote a cover letter to introduce a student-produced magazine to President Richard M. Nixon.[1] "We hope you like [our] Magazine[. Its] name is Diné ba'á kchíní dóó dabik'is ba hane' or The Writing of Navajo [Children and] their Friends. I [hope] you will read all of it. I would like it to be in the News."[2] Vernon and thirty-nine other sixth graders wanted their readers, including President Nixon, to learn about their lives and Navajo culture. The students organized the magazine into three sections: "Their Reality," "Their Imagination," and "Their Feelings." Accompanied by drawings and photographs, as well as poems, essays, and stories, the booklet described a range of topics, including the children's farms, relationships with family members, and aspirations for the future, among other everyday routines. Through these narratives, the children expressed connectedness with their communities, the natural world, and the livestock mentioned in their writings. This publication celebrated Navajo traditions, which, as Vernon told the president, the students wanted featured "in the News." In creating this booklet, children demanded cultural visibility and political recognition. By sending their work to the president of the United States and entering their writings into the historical archive of the nation, they performed an act of resistance against the silencing of their culture.[3]

This chapter examines four printed pamphlets that students of color in elementary, middle, and high school created and mailed to the White House to be read either by different presidents or by the First Ladies in the 1970s and 1980s. Several years after Navajo sixth graders mailed the 1972 document, Yup'ik middle and high schoolers from the Lower Yukon Alaska School District shared their cultural heritage in "Kwikpagmiut" in 1977. In 1980 black middle and high school students from Oakland, California, celebrated their identities and discussed racial violence in their tribute collection to Rosalynn Carter. In 1984 Latinx elementary school students from San Jose, California, created a newspaper,

the *Young People's Tribune*, containing Spanish-language text and Latinx cultural references. By sending these publications and letters of introduction to President Richard M. Nixon, President Jimmy Carter, First Lady Rosalynn Carter, and President Ronald Reagan, the children adopted letter writing and pamphlet production as modes of political involvement.[4] Since the creation of the office, Americans have written letters of persuasion, concern, and ire to their presidents.[5] Following this tradition, these students understood that their audience wielded the power to foment national change.

The U.S. history textbooks these children likely read in school devoted less than 10 percent of page space to Americans of color.[6] Textbook authors presented historical narratives from the perspectives of white Americans and related black, Native, or Latinx history only as it was relevant to white Americans; authors claimed that Americans of color "helped" white people build (white) America.[7] In the absence of readily available and culturally inclusive educational resources, the students thus authored texts intended to be read and consumed within their own communities and educated White House officials about nonwhite cultural traditions. Produced at school, some level of adult supervision and intervention shaped these documents. Still, the pamphlets remained primarily the product of the children's authorship. The documents provided a space where children of color (re)claimed their cultural roots, reflected upon their identities as children and young teens (often by taking ownership over predominantly white childhood symbols), and redefined Americanness to include their respective cultural values. As the children interacted with adults in their communities to preserve and honor their cultural traditions in print, the pamphlets also served as critical generational links.

The child and teenage authors drew upon discourses of 1970s and 1980s civil rights movements even as earlier and concurrent movements influenced their writings. Many Oakland students mentioned 1960s freedom marchers (especially Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.) and repeated language of racial consciousness and pride characteristic of the Black Power movement and the Black Panther Party.[8] While none of the Latinx students from San Jose self-identified as Chicanx or referred to the movement, they mirrored Chicanx activists' aims in exercising their right to write in Spanish and promoting Latinx culture.[9] Neither the Navajo nor the Yup'ik children mentioned any of the highly publicized protests led by Native activists during the 1970s. However, several writings by Native children embodied the cultural pride that many Native activists expressed in the 1960s and 1970s.[10]

While the students wrote about issues that adults and children of color had raised in previous decades, unlike earlier activist generations, none of these youths expressed a desire for integration. Historian Rebecca de Schweinitz illustrates how young black activists in the late 1950s and 1960s acted as the vanguard of protests against segregation and racial inequality after witnessing the 1955 murder of Emmett Till and the actions of the Little Rock Nine in 1957.[11]

The students writing to the White House in the 1970s and 1980s grew up in the wake of Dr. King's assassination and during the height of Black, Brown, and Red Power movements. Historian Gael Graham shows that black high schoolers growing up during the late 1960s and 1970s were less willing to ally with whites and older activist groups to achieve their goals. Integration—a primary objective that frequently shaped youth activism prior to King's assassination—faded as a realistic or even useful strategy for alleviating continued socioeconomic challenges and political marginalization. Instead, as these youth-authored pamphlets highlight, their focus shifted to celebrating the histories and cultures of Americans of color.[12] The children featured in this chapter replaced white cultural narratives with their own communities' stories. Scholars like de Schweinitz and Graham have excavated the nature and motivations of children's participation in civil rights movements, but their treatments leave room for the examination of the convergences and divergences in protests among youths from different racial and cultural backgrounds.[13]

This chapter joins recent scholarship in examining American children's use of print as a strategy for activism and political participation during the latter half of the twentieth century.[14] In *American Girls and Global Responsibility*, Jennifer Helgren demonstrates that in the 1940s and 1950s girls in the Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and YWCA Y-Teens, as well as teenage readers of *Seventeen* magazine, relied on letters to connect with a global audience in a gendered attempt to promote brotherhood, peace, and world understanding.[15] While these written pleas for peace in a newly atomic world occasionally addressed racial prejudice in the United States, critiques of racism remained vague and generally targeted southern states.[16] Unlike Helgren's internationalist and predominantly white middle-class girls, children of color in the 1970s and 1980s used print to record more specific and strident critiques of American racism and reclaim their cultural identities. Fears about the atomic bomb or global friendship did not concern them.[17]

Not every subversive pamphlet or newspaper children of color sent to the White House or produced for other audiences resembled the publications analyzed in this chapter. Even so, common themes emerged across geographic and temporal distances and in diverse communities. For example, Melissa Ruhl's study of the *Chemawa American*, a student newspaper produced by Navajo, northwestern, and Alaskan Native students at the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding school in northern Oregon in the 1960s and 1970s shows that Native students used the newspaper to "write poetry, to publish art, and to comment on the state of Native America. Many students argued, sometimes overtly and often more covertly, that the United States had abused Native nations and that reform was desperately needed."[18] The children and teens in this chapter also relied on print as a tool of empowerment and for social commentary; moreover, they sent their narratives to be read by the most powerful political representatives in the nation.[19]

Many of the children focused on the histories of their racial and cultural groups to provide a tangible record of their ancestors' strength. To highlight their people's capacity for survival and dedication to freedom, the Lower Yukon and Oakland student groups recovered their people's experiences of subjugation and erasure. The Yup'ik students conducted interviews with elders in their communities, enabling them to publicly restore cultural memories. Several Yup'ik elders narrated experiences of starvation, disease, and the loss of Yup'ik practices due to increasing white presence in the Lower Yukon region.[20] The students' transcriptions reckoned with the hardship in the Yup'ik past while also honoring the resolve of those community members who, for example, ate mice to survive.[21] In addition to starvation, influenza and tuberculosis had devastated Yup'ik populations at several points over the course of the twentieth century, traumatizing survivors.[22] The students' desire to record these testimonies reflected a need to link previous generations' struggles with their own lives. One student, David, interviewed an older resident, Jasper, to learn how life had changed after influenza hit their village in 1918: "There were lots of people before the sickness came; there were lots of men. The kids used to play on the lakes behind the houses. They used to play every night, hide and seek and everything. They used to make lots of noise. After the sickness it just got quiet. I missed all those people that died. Just in maybe two weeks, all those people died. So then after that, very slowly they increased . . . very slowly . . ."[23] David's use of two ellipses to transcribe the painful pauses in Jasper's story communicated the heart-wrenching nature of the "slow" recovery in Emmonak. Yet David also captured Jasper's relief in the growing village population, however long it took.

In their 1980 booklet, some of the Oakland children also stressed the theme of survival by reflecting on their connection to the history of North American slavery.[24] A high school student named Darrell submitted a poem, "The Shadow of Darkness Looked Over the Graves of a Hundred Slaves," for inclusion in the publication. Darrell chose identifiable images of slavery to commemorate black people's experiences and illustrate their long-standing fight for freedom:

> He saw the memories of Dixie cotton being picked;
> He saw the deaths of slaves who couldn't breath[e] in the cargo hold;
> He saw the memories of men and women sold as cattle,
> He also saw the memories of a[n] unforgotten dream of being free.[25]

Darrell likely represented the "he" in this poem. He described several of the most violent aspects of slavery for his reader, then concluded the poem with his enslaved ancestors' "unforgotten" longing for "freedom." With this line, Darrell related past struggles to his own generation's ongoing activism to achieve the "dream" of freedom. For both Darrell and the Yup'ik students, telling their people's stories allowed them to produce repositories of resistance that they could draw on as resources for endurance in a still-unequal America.

The student groups also used their booklets to celebrate and rejoice in their cultures. Several Navajo students wrote essays about their families' farms and

herds of sheep and goats, honoring practices of sheep- and goatherding that had deep roots among the Diné.[26] For centuries, the Diné had supported themselves through pastoral practices.[27] This economic independence ended with the New Deal era herd-reduction program, instituted by John Collier Sr. and the BIA in an ecological effort to curb land erosion on the Colorado steppes. The mass slaughter of sheep, goats, and horses caused starvation among many Diné by the 1940s and initiated widespread poverty, which continues today. The slaughter and its aftermath imprinted itself indelibly onto the Diné's collective memory, perhaps even increasing the cultural and spiritual significance of herding practices.[28] The 1972 publication contained an unmistakable emphasis on the continuing relevance of sheep, goats, and other livestock to the Navajo children and their families. This theme can be interpreted as a form of delayed resistance to the government-enacted violence, as well as a contemporary call for federal policies to restore and support the economic, social, and cultural traditions of the Diné.[29]

Some children focused on the aesthetic value of their histories and cultures in their publications. One of the Oakland middle schoolers, Diane, emphasized her connection to the "pride and grace of Mother Africa" and the "beauty of Egypt's great flowing Nile," replicating the cultural nationalist language and embrace of African roots common among participants in 1970s Black Power and Black Arts movements.[30] Historian Russell Rickford shows that in the 1960s and 1970s Pan-Africanism encouraged many black Americans' embrace of Africa as a place that had a long history of powerful and successful civilizations.[31] Writing in 1980, Diane used lilting prose to inform her readers of that history.

Unlike the other student groups, the Latinx children from San Jose did not explicitly allude to Latin American history in their writings. But eleven-year-old Celia chose to use the "Last Will and Testament" section of the *Young People's Tribune* to inform her readers that she bequeathed her prized collection of "Menudo" to her "best cousin."[32] Celia's celebration of Menudo, a Puerto Rican boy band that enjoyed widespread popularity throughout Latin America in the 1980s, underscored her connection to Latinx culture. Celia playfully insisted that this prized cultural trove be granted to a family member who shared her enthusiasm in the case of her untimely demise.

Many of the students seemed concerned that their writings be received by the person occupying the *office* of the presidency, whoever that might be. That all presidents acted as heads of state mattered more than an individual president's specific political agenda, proposed policies, or public reputation. In Vernon's cover letter to President Nixon, he neither identified with Nixon nor mentioned any of his policies (in Indian Country or otherwise). Instead, he recognized the capacity of the presidency to lend symbolic weight and potential publicity to his and his classmates' writings. At the end of the 1977 edition of "Kwikpagmiut," the editors included a section of letters written in appreciation of the previous year's installment, including a letter from the office of President Gerald Ford. This indicated the students' determination to get a copy of "Kwikpagmiut" into the hands of this president or any future president.[33] For the Na-

American children sent thousands of letters and other writings to the White House to connect with the nation's most recognizable seat of political power and to transmit their personal opinions, community histories, and cultural celebrations. Many of these documents have been preserved in the National Archives system. Photograph by Karl Schumacher, WHPO-3425-16, "Executive Office Building (E.O.B.) Mail Room," April 27, 1970, White House Press Office Contact Sheets, binder 31, sheet 3425, frame 7-7A, 4-27-70, Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library, Yorba Linda, California. Courtesy of Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum.

vajo and Yup'ik children, the individual occupying the Oval Office signified less than the office itself. They were motivated to send their packets to the White House in order to appeal to the president as a national leader who constitutionally represented every member of the American populace.

In different contexts, the individual president (or First Lady) certainly motivated some children to write. For the Oakland students, Rosalynn Carter's visit to their school influenced their decision to share their writings with her; some wrote poems explicitly dedicated to the First Lady and her husband.[34] In letters that accompanied their newspaper, the San Jose students both engaged with Reagan's public persona (e.g., his love of jelly beans) and berated Reagan for his policies on poverty and education.[35] Yet even in these cases, the children wrote with a generalized presidential audience in mind. They appealed to the president as an elected leader who had been entrusted with their welfare, regardless of their race, class, or political opinions. Despite the First Lady's lack of executive power, the students treated her in a similar manner by virtue of her connection to the president. Writing to the inhabitants of the White House allowed children to insert texts about themselves and their communities into the official archive of the nation. They pursued this task regardless of the political leanings of the person who received their missives.

Given that students' abilities to speak and write in multiple languages affected their day-to-day experiences just as much as herding sheep or playing records, students often displayed their multilingualist competence to further assert their cultural heritage. This was especially the case in the Navajo, Yup'ik, and Latinx children's publications.[36] The Navajo students used Diné to title their publication and each of its three major sections, providing the English translations only as subtitles.[37] The Yup'ik students called their booklet "Kwikpagmiut," an old name for a Yup'ik dialect.[38] Javier, a nine-year-old boy from the San Jose group, contributed to the *Young People's Tribune*'s "My Last Will and Testament" section with a submission in Spanish, leaving his entire estate to "mi mejor hermano" (my best brother).[39] During the 1960s and 1970s, activists in both the Red Power and Chicanx movements focused much attention on multilingual children's right to an education that cultivated rather than denigrated their linguistic backgrounds, reacting to American educators' long history of suppressing Latinx and Native children's multilingualism.[40] When Navajo, Yup'ik, and Latinx students unapologetically wrote in Diné, Yup'ik, and Spanish in 1972, 1977, and 1984, they participated in this continuing struggle for positive recognition.

Apart from including non-English text in their publications, multilingual children reflected on being the primary English speakers in their community. Contributors to "Kwikpagmiut" explained that they carried out their interviews with elderly members of their towns in Yup'ik and then "put [them] into English" for their readers.[41] In her essay "How I Drive My Parents Crazy," ten-year-old Luz Maria from San Jose addressed the cultural and generational tension between her and her mother: "I drive my mom crazy when I put on the records in English. She tells me to turn it off because she doesn't understand them."[42] Luz Maria's anecdote provided a one-line portrayal of her life in a multilingual home in which she may have been the only English speaker. While her essay hinted at the occasional linguistic labor she performed on behalf of her family, her piece maintained a good-humored rather than resentful tone. Luz Maria's essay and the Yup'ik students' publication testified to these children's roles as generational links, cultural representatives, and interpreters in their communities and families.

The Yup'ik students in particular viewed the preservation of these linguistic skills and other Native traditions as a method of serving their community. But at least one elder involved in the production of "Kwikpagmiut" doubted the children's dedication to maintaining traditional knowledge. Axel, a sixty-six-year-old man from one of the participating towns, Emmonak, told his student interviewers, "Today, you find that not many look back on their own heritage. They don't even know they're Eskimo anymore. You young generation, if you did care for it you'd never lose the tongue."[43] This accusation of laxity caused Axel's interviewers, Linda and Joanne, to record his words alongside their own addendum: "It was fun listening to Axel but we'd like to say to him that we still think of our native ways. We still think about them and don't think we'll ever want to forget about it."[44] The interview forced the girls to reflect upon their relationship with

their community and its older members, as well as their own role in remembering "native ways." By writing "Kwikpagmiut," they believed they had created an educational resource for themselves and future Yup'ik youths in their resistance against cultural erasure. The student staff of another participating locality, Hooper Bay, wrote: "Some of the old people know about the ways of long ago. We think that KWIKPAGMIUT is something that we can use to learn about old ways. If we did not have KWIKPAGMIUT we would not have known about the old ways. These ways would have been forgotten."[45] In small towns like Hooper Bay, which boasted a population of only 650 residents in 1977, students viewed the creation of reference texts describing Yup'ik history and practices as an urgent task.[46] Indeed, the publication of "Kwikpagmiut" must be viewed as part of a larger initiative for Native education in the region. In 1976 a group of students including Molly Hootch, a teenager from Emmonak, won a landmark case against the state of Alaska. Hootch, just sixteen when the case was filed in 1972, had argued that the state failed to provide access to local high schools in predominantly Alaskan Native villages.[47] The first full school year for high school students in Emmonak was 1976–77. During these years, students also published the first two editions of "Kwikpagmiut." Overall, the Yup'ik students emphasized the continuity between their generation and that of older Yup'iks. They avoided mentioning childhood activities, and they listed their grades in school rather than explicitly recording their ages. They stressed their youth only to demonstrate that they planned to ensure the preservation of their culture.

Other students mentioned their youth by describing how economic or racial barriers affected them as children. Though the students lived in locales (both urban and rural) scattered across the West, most of them likely lived in poverty.[48] Both the Navajo and Yup'ik groups lived in majority-Native areas that experienced extreme levels of economic deprivation in the 1970s and 1980s.[49] A large segment of the population in Oakland, California, had incomes that fell under the poverty line in 1980, and several children wrote about life in poor neighborhoods.[50] Only San Jose, California, was not an overall poor city.[51] Lance, a fourteen-year-old boy who contributed to the Oakland schools' 1980 booklet, wrote: "On my block you learn how to fight and defend your rights. When you are a child, people act like you do not have any rights. But you do! You have all the rights in the world." Lance noted that he lived on a "tough block" on which only the rich participated in childhood "fun," "[riding] around in a bad Cad, playing cool music." By contrast, for Lance, childhood equaled getting "[knocked] down" and having "your money [copped]." Lance informed his reader that poverty made living as a child in his neighborhood "a *hell of a hard job*." Lance did not disclose his racial identity; his essay instead listed the ways in which being a poor kid in Oakland was more tough than fun. Having reflected on these struggles rather than trying to recapture the innocence generally ascribed to childhood, Lance chose to fully depart from that aspect of his identity, titling his piece "I Am Not a Child." He regarded adulthood—finishing school and getting a "good job"—as a potentially challenging but promising escape from the trials of his childhood.[52]

Even through disavowals like Lance's, writers in each of the publications explicitly pointed to their status as children.[53] These identifications affected the way the young writers expected their readers to understand their work. In the 1970s and 1980s as now, Americans viewed children as symbols of innocence. Adults often used such symbolism to argue that children—and the abstract future they represented—needed protection from all manner of things, including war, sex, comic books, and even other children. As Robin Bernstein argues in *Racial Innocence*, white Americans have historically excluded children of color from this definition of childhood, setting "naughty" and "dangerous" black children as a counterpoint to "good" and "kind" white children in need of care.[54] When children of color wrote *as children*—through refusal or affirmation—they called attention to the hypocrisy inherent in an exclusive definition of American childhood innocence.

Among many of the younger writers of the publications, including several of the sixth-grade Navajo students and the nine- and ten-year-old Latinx elementary schoolers, references to age or childhood focused on enjoyable activities rather than the experiences of deprivation. The pamphlets allowed them to assert their right to innocence. The San Jose students wrote about one of the most recognizable icons of childhood, Santa Claus, in a section of the *Young People's Tribune* that featured "Dear Santa Claus" and "My Christmas Story" submissions. A nine-year-old boy, Gorge, made his contribution to this prompt by writing in Spanish about meeting and taking a picture with Santa Claus and his "nana."[55] While asking students to write letters to Santa Claus was a common December activity in classrooms across America, Gorge responded to this request by submitting a Spanish-language text. In a similar case, two of the Navajo children, Alvin and Larry, drew on their regional background in their production of a two-page spread of "The Rodeo Game." These pages sported a board game the boys had created in which players could win or lose by landing on spaces such as "Steer hit you. Miss 1 turn." or "Horse ran away. Miss 1 turn."[56] Alvin and Larry braided their southwestern-based appreciation of the rodeo with their own desire for fun and made a game out of it, inviting their readers to join them in playtime. Gorge, Alvin, and Larry ensured that readers flipping through the pages of their pamphlets would encounter both Latin American and Navajo cultures, as well as evidence of their youth.

Some of the Native children criticized the United States' historical erasure of their cultures more directly. They believed that their Native identity represented an important and perhaps even more authentic or valuable aspect of American culture than that of white Americans. Vernon, the same child who had written a letter of introduction to Nixon, authored a short story about a man named Bill and his Honda 350. For Vernon, this motorcycle might have been cool, but cooler still were Bill's feelings about his people: "He is proud to be an Indian, because Indians are the only real American[s]. The white[s] say they are American, but they are not. The real Americans are Indian."[57] By making the definition of "American" uniquely and only Native, Vernon took owner-

ship of a definition that at varying times in American history had been denied to and imposed upon Native Americans. He reclaimed "America" and "American," both historically as a geographic space that belonged to Native peoples before Europeans and symbolically as a dual identity—"Indian" and "American"—that was better for its duality.[58] A Yup'ik student, Theresa, repeated these themes in her poem in "Kwikpagmiut." She recognized white people's capacity to help Yup'iks relate to the wider world while also arguing that this qualified acceptance should not involve any loss of her community's heritage:

> Where is the spirit of the Eskimo culture now?
> It must remain in the hearts of men,
> It must not be drowned by greed[,] laziness, or lust.
> It must be kept and taught from generation to generation.
>
> Yes, we could add the ways of the white[s] to our ways.
> They can bring the Eskimo to know the world.
> But let us not forget the ways of our fathers before us.[59]

Vernon and Theresa both argued that their Native cultures deserved recognition and preservation. The students included no explicit reference to Red Power or any of the public protests undertaken by Native activists between 1969 and 1973. Yet their writings reflected the symbolic shift in the ways that Native Americans, including children, interpreted their relationships with the U.S. government and white Americans during this time period.[60]

Several black children from Oakland also addressed racial oppression and exclusion in their 1980 pamphlet. In writings that mirrored the platform of Black Power advocates in the late 1960s and 1970s, the young writers rejected whiteness by celebrating and proudly proclaiming their blackness. They argued that black Americans should enjoy the rights and social worth the United States granted to white people. Bess, a high school student, wrote a poem that asked: "Must I be white to live / In this humanity?" She answered: "Black is all I'm gonna be."[61] Several other students repeated these positive expressions of racial identity. Larry called for respect for himself and all black people in his essay, "Respect Me. . . . I'm Black," opening with the line: "I am special in life because I am Black!"[62] Kathryne's poem, "Little Black Girl," characterized black girls, their features, and their people as beautiful:

> Little Black girl stands in her
> Black world with her Black people
> and her Black nature.
> Her dark beauty and her Black hair
> shining under a white sun.[63]

Expressing pride in blackness—both as personhood and as physical form—affirmed Bess's, Larry's, and Kathryne's self-worth and reflected black children's counterargument to the historical and contemporary degradation of black Americans.

These pamphlets illustrate how four groups of American students of color embraced their cultural and racial identities and then ensured that those celebrations were not only preserved in print but also read by those with executive political power. As Navajo student Vernon reminded Nixon in his letter, the children hoped their audiences would "read all of it." The publications reflected students' resistance to the United States' erasure of Native American, Latin American, and black people's histories and cultures. Many of the students' poems, essays, and stories might have appeared innocuous to their readers. A joking reference to a girl's favorite boy band, a rodeo-themed board game, and instructions for making a basket may be overlooked as examples of political resistance. These young authors integrated such quotidian writings alongside clear responses to American racism. Students used traditional languages to showcase their multilingual talents. They recorded stories of their people to share among themselves and with their readers and future community members. The child authors also wrote about and claimed ownership of their childhoods, sharing stories of innocence lost, wishes for Santa, and playful invitations to roll the dice. The printed works communicated children's expressions of pride that renounced and replaced past and continuing narratives of cultural devaluation. In writing and sending these booklets to the White House, the students called for change in the way the United States perceived the students' racial and cultural identities both in their own lives and the distant future. While Nixon may not have heeded Vernon's call to "read all of it," he thanked the students for sharing the "creative" booklet.[64] Jimmy Carter told the Yup'ik writers that they should be "proud" of their work, and Reagan informed the San Jose students that he "enjoyed learning" about their lives. A presidential aide representing First Lady Rosalynn Carter noted that the Oakland students' work was "very touching."[65] Just as they had hoped, the children's words were read and appreciated at the White House. Importantly, the archive preserved those words, and these children's stories can still be told today.[66]

As Americans contemplate their relationship with the office of the presidency, it is worth noting that for these children, the symbolism of the Oval Office meant much more than the person sitting behind the desk. The White House and its inhabitants represented political power that offered a possibility—however dim—for positive change in the children's lives. Contrary to exceptionalist mythology, the United States has never been a country that safeguarded the liberty and safety of all its people. Postwar national policies failed to protect many children and families, particularly when they were black or brown. Yet this reality has never stopped children from demanding notice from officials elected to represent the interests of *all* Americans.

NOTES

1. I follow these child authors' use of the word "Navajo" when describing their identities, and I use "Diné" when referring to the Navajo Nation. For the chapter as a whole, I maintain original spelling and punctuation in quotations as much as possi-

ble, changing language only for clarity's sake. I do not use the students' last names in order to protect the privacy of those who may still be living today.

2. Vernon to Richard M. Nixon, [May 8, 1972], Richard M. Nixon Papers as President (RMN-PP), White House Central File (WHCF), Subject Files, Indian Affairs (IN), box 6, folder GEN IN 6/1/72–7/31/72, Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library, Yorba Linda, Calif. (hereafter RMN).
3. Crownpoint Elementary School Sixth Graders, "Diné ba'á kchíní dóó dabik'is ba hane' (The Writing of Navajo Children and Their Friends)," ed. Barbara Hemley Rosenn [teacher], RMN-PP, WHCF, Subject Files, IN, box 6, folder GEN IN 6/1/72–7/31/72, RMN.
4. In his study of nineteenth-century North American immigrant letters, David Gerber argues that letters acted as a method of self-identification involving both the writer and the reader because of the author's critical awareness of the audience on the opposite side of the correspondence. See David A. Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 64, 72. When letter writers wrote within a centuries-old format known as "letter of petition," they demanded action from people in positions of power reading their missives. For more about letter writing and political empowerment, see also James Daybell, "Scripting a Female Voice: Women's Epistolary Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Letters of Petition," *Women's Writing* 13, no. 1 (March 2006): 3–22.
5. Children's communication with the White House has a long history; for instance, children mailed letters to Abraham Lincoln and Eleanor Roosevelt to share personal matters and present political perspectives. See Harold Holzer, ed., *Dear Mr. Lincoln: Letters to the President* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1993), 28, 46, 101–2; Robert Cohen, ed., *Dear Mrs. Roosevelt: Letters from Children of the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
6. Civil rights activists had begun lobbying school boards in the 1960s for the adoption of American history textbooks that presented the multiracial history of the United States. The textbook industry reluctantly adopted new historical content, but by the 1960s and 1970s, new textbooks included only some historical coverage of Americans of color. The texts remained one-dimensional and problematic. A survey of six U.S. history texts widely used between 1975 and 1979 revealed that Americans of color received only between 5.5 and 11 percent of page space. See Alvin Wolf, "Minorities in U.S. History Textbooks, 1945–1985," *Clearing House* 65, no. 5 (May–June 1992): 291–97, esp. 294–95. See also Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).
7. Wolf, "Minorities," 296.
8. For an overview of the Black Power movement, see Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2006).
9. For the Chicanx movement, see Carlos Muñoz Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (1989; New York: Verso, 2007); Vicki L. Ruiz, *From out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (1998; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), esp. chap. 5.
10. For Native activism in the 1960s and 1970s, see Bradley G. Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like*

a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee (New York: New Press, 1996).

11. Rebecca de Schweinitz also contends that the freedom-oriented rhetoric of the Cold War era contributed to this younger generation's activism. For the historical factors motivating more radical youth activism in the 1960s, see de Schweinitz, *If We Could Change the World: Young People and America's Long Struggle for Racial Equality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 90–248.
12. Gael Graham, *Young Activists: American High School Students in the Age of Protest* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006), 30–50, esp. 53–56. See also Jon N. Hale, *Freedom Schools: Student Activists in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).
13. Graham briefly discusses Native and Chicanx high school protests, but both of these groups receive less thorough treatment in her study than black and white high schoolers. Graham, *Young Activists*, 76–81, 118. Holly Scott also mentions student activists belonging to several different racial and ethnic groups in her study, but because of her focus on "youth framing," she primarily addresses issues of age rather than deeply interrogating the thematic content of their civil rights protests. Holly Scott, *Younger Than That Now: The Politics of Age in the 1960s* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 127–31.
14. For examples, see Carol L. Tilley, "Children and the Comics: Young Readers Take On the Critics," in *Protest on the Page: Essays on Print and the Culture of Dissent since 1865*, ed. James L. Baughman, Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen, and James P. Danky (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 161–79; William Sturkey, "'I Want to Become Part of History': Freedom Summer, Freedom Schools, and the *Freedom News*," *Journal of African American History* 95, no. 3–4 (Summer–Fall 2010): 348–68; Matthew Ides, "'Dare to Free Yourself': The Red Tide, Feminism, and High School Activism in the Early 1970s," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 7, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 295–319. See also the bundle of articles on letter writing and youth politics by Woody Register, Susan Eckelmann Berghel, and Cara Elliott in *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 10, no. 3 (Fall 2017): 380–440.
15. Jennifer Helgren, *American Girls and Global Responsibility: A New Relation to the World during the Early Cold War* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 20–82.
16. Helgren, *American Girls*, 42–43, 54–55, 75. Lori Rotskoff has also shown that letter writing acted as a medium through which authors could transcribe their identities and simultaneously interact with their audiences. Lori Rotskoff, "'Little Women's Libbers' and '*Free to Be* Kids': Children and the Struggle for Gender Equality in the United States," in *When We Were Free to Be: Looking Back at a Children's Classic and the Difference It Made*, ed. Lori Rotskoff and Laura L. Lovett (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 92–110.
17. Jennifer Helgren's study of Native American Camp Fire Girls in the 1930s underscores the longevity of this kind of print activism. While Native girls in this earlier time period did not as explicitly address discrimination as later generations of Native youth, they used their participation in the Camp Fire Girls (including writings in their student newspaper) to resist the organization's racist caricatures and represent themselves as modern American *and* Indian girls. Jennifer Helgren, "Native American and White Camp Fire Girls Enact Modern Girlhood, 1910–39," *American Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (June 2014): 333–60, 347.
18. Melissa Ruhl, "'Forward You Must Go': Chemawa Indian Boarding School and Stu-

dent Activism in the 1960s and 1970s" (MA thesis, University of Oregon, 2011), 2. Ruhl also notes that students were aware of the national readership of their paper. Ibid., 14.

19. Both white and nonwhite students in the United States made print a key channel for communicating their grievances with authority in the 1970s. Several groups of students, including Navajo students in Utah, wrote school bills of rights during this decade. These documents focused on restrictive dress codes and hairstyles, as well as political issues such as corporal punishment and First Amendment protections, among other matters. See ibid., 53–55, 56–61; Gael Graham, "Flaunting the Freak Flag: *Karr v. Schmidt* and the Great Hair Debate in American High Schools, 1965–1975," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 2 (September 2004): 522–43.
20. For disease, see David, "After the Sickness, It Just Got Quiet . . . ," in Lower Yukon School District Students, "Kwikpagmiut," [1977], Jimmy Carter Papers as President (JC-PP), WHCF, White House Oversize Attachments (WHOA), Oversize Attachment (OA) 973, 114–17, Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, Atlanta, Georgia (hereafter JCL); Hooper Bay Staff, "Hooper Bay Joins Kwikpagmiut," in ibid., 55. For starvation, see Joanne and Linda, "A Life with Nuta," in ibid., 46–50, esp. 49; Hooper Bay Staff, "Hooper Bay Joins Kwikpagmiut," 55; Emma, Donna, and Irene, "Starvation Will Come Someday," in ibid., 71–75. For loss of Yup'ik knowledge, see [Hooper Bay Student Staff,] "Joan Hill Remembers," in ibid., 56–58.
21. Emma, Donna, and Irene, "Starvation Will Come Someday." The girls recounted Kirk's advice that a mouse made a good meal when nothing else was available to eat.
22. Ann Fienup-Riordan, *Mission of Change in Southwest Alaska: Conversations with Father René Astruc and Paul Dixon on Their Work with Yup'ik People, 1950–1988* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2012), 13–14.
23. David, "After the Sickness," 114, ellipses in original.
24. See Yolanda, "Poetry," in Oakland Unified School District, "A Student Tribute to Rosalynn Carter," [1980], [28], JC-PP, WHCF, WHOA, OA 10,156, JCL.
25. Darrell, "The Shadow of Darkness Looked Over the Graves of a Hundred Slaves," in ibid., [31].
26. See Thomas, "Winter in Navajo Land," in Crownpoint Elementary School Sixth Graders, "Diné," 3; Veida, "Summer with the Navahos," in ibid., 4; Lionel, "Sheep," in ibid., 8; Marshall, "Sheep's Head to Eat," in ibid., 9; Thomas, "Blood Sausage," in ibid., 9; Lionel, "Shearing the Sheep," in ibid., 10; Ava, [untitled,] in ibid., 15; Elrena, "Grandmother," in ibid., 17; Edgar, "Grandfather," in ibid., 17. For an overview of the history of Diné interaction with livestock and the land, see Marsha L. Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).
27. See also Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750–1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empire in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).
28. Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep*, 8–9, 78.
29. Similarly, the Yup'ik students included testimonials about basket making, fishing, cooking, the annual potlatch feast, hunting, and the "old ways" to represent and promote the continuation of Yup'ik customs. Lower Yukon School District Students, "Kwikpagmiut."
30. Diane, "My Legacy," in Oakland Unified School District, "A Student Tribute," [19]. For cultural nationalism as a key aspect of Black Power, see Joseph, *Waiting*.
31. Russell Rickford, *We Are an African People: Independent Education, Black Power, and the Radical Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 119, 251.

32. Celia, "My Last Will and Testament," in *Young People's Tribune*, ed. Richard J. Desmond, Steve Alden, Kraig Kliewer, Mona Kellum, and Betty Wood, Winter 1984, 13, Ronald Reagan Papers as President (RR-PP), White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) Subject File, Public Relations (PR) 14-1, box 8, folder PR 14-1 Children, Requests to the President From (180000–210000), case number 197124, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, Calif. (hereafter RRL).
33. Lower Yukon School District Students, "Letters, Notes, and Comments," in "Kwikpagmiut," 155.
34. Rosalynn Carter visited the Oakland School District as part of its Artist/Scholar Program for the 1979–80 school year. Educators designed the program to enhance students' language skills. See Ruth B. Love, Superintendent, foreword to Oakland Unified School District, "A Student Tribute," [1].
35. See, for example, Jessica to Ronald Reagan, [November–December 1983], letter enclosed with Desmond et al., *Young People's Tribune*.
36. Consider one Oakland middle schooler's poem, "Mama": "I gotta work so you chil'ren can eat." Beyond this, the Oakland students' linguistic choices did not reflect any major focus on their multilingual abilities or heritage. Janiene, "Mama," in Oakland Unified School District, "A Student Tribute," [30].
37. Crownpoint Elementary School Sixth Graders, "Diné."
38. Lower Yukon School District Students, "Kwikpagmiut."
39. Javier, "My Last Will and Testament," in Desmond et al., *Young People's Tribune*, 13.
40. In 1966 Clyde Warrior, one of the key members of the National Indian Youth Council, reacted strongly to this history, criticizing even the newer Upward Bound programs as "trying to 'wash students in white paint.'" Warrior quoted in Shreve, *Red Power Rising*, 153. See also Natalia Mehlman Petrzela, part 1, "Language," in *Classroom Wars: Language, Sex, and the Making of Modern Political Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 20–100.
41. Joanne and Linda, "A Life with Nuta," 46.
42. Luz Maria, "How I Drive My Parents Crazy," in Desmond et al., *Young People's Tribune*, 7.
43. Axel quoted in Linda and Joanne, "Johnson's Life and the Change of the Yukon Yupiks," in Lower Yukon School District Students, "Kwikpagmiut," 23. Note that while the word "Eskimo" is currently understood to be derogatory in most places in the United States, some Native Alaskans did and do still accept the term, as "Inuit" is not a Yup'ik word and refers only to the Inupiat of northern Alaska, the Inuit of Canada, and the Kalaallit of Greenland. See Lawrence Kaplan, "Inuit or Eskimo, Which Name to Use?," July 1, 2011, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska Native Center, uaf.edu/anlc/resources/inuit-eskimo. I have used Yup'ik in my text while also maintaining original quotations and usages of "Eskimo."
44. Linda and Joanne, "Johnson's Life," 23.
45. Hooper Bay Staff, "Hooper Bay Joins Kwikpagmiut," 55.
46. Ibid., 54. To further underscore the importance of this self-conscious definition of their publication as a sort of textbook, consider the racism of American textbooks in relationship to Native Americans during the 1970s, many of which barely mentioned or only wrote about Native populations as lost relics of the nineteenth-century American West or long-ago friends of the Pilgrims. See Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, 326.
47. Molly Hootch Hymes, *I Remember When: Growing Up in Alaska on the Kwik Pass of the Lower Yukon River* (Anchorage: Publication Consultants, 2012).
48. In the 1970s fewer than ten thousand people resided in the Crownpoint division of McKinley County, New Mexico, and in the Alaskan census area near the coast of

the Bering Sea. Oakland and San Jose, California, had approximately three hundred thousand and six hundred thousand inhabitants, respectively, in 1980. U.S. Department of Commerce, *1970 Census of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), 33–36; Richard L. Forstall, "Alaska, Population of Counties by Decennial Census: 1900–1990," census.gov/population/www/censusdata/cencounts/files/ak190090.txt; "Bay Area Census, Oakland, 1970–1990," bayarea census.ca.gov/cities/Oakland70.htm; "Bay Area Census, San Jose, 1970–1990," bayareacensus.ca.gov/cities/SanJose70.htm.

49. James Peach and Anthony V. Popp, *The Economic Impact of Proposed Uranium Mining and Milling Operations in the State of New Mexico*, New Mexico State University Office of Policy Analysis / Arrowhead Center, Las Cruces, 2008, 67–68, esp. figure 6.7, which tracks McKinley County, New Mexico, per capita income as a percentage of U.S. per capita income from 1970 to 2005; Stephanie Martin and Alexandra Hill, "The Changing Economic Status of Alaska Natives, 1970–2007," *Web Notes: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska Anchorage*, no. 5 (July 2009): 2.
50. "Bay Area Census, Oakland."
51. Alana Semuels, "The Place Where the Poor Once Thrived," *Atlantic*, February 24, 2016, theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/02/the-place-where-the-poor-once-thrived/470667. Many children from San Jose chose to focus on poverty in the correspondence packages to Reagan. While these choices may have reflected one of the most strident public critiques of the president during the 1984 election year, it is possible that the children's low-income status motivated them to address socioeconomic inequalities in their letters.
52. Lance, "I Am Not a Child," in Oakland Unified School District, "A Student Tribute," [32]. See also Thomas, "Winter in Navajo Land," 3.
53. Like the college-age students of color Holly Scott writes about in her recent book *Younger Than That Now*, these high, middle, and elementary school students did not discount age as a relevant factor of their identities, but their everyday experiences were predominantly shaped by race. Scott argues that for youth activists of color, "youth identity remained beneath the surface, rather than a defining characteristic of these movements" (*Younger Than That Now*, 119).
54. Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2011). Bernstein maintains that through a variety of cultural artifacts such as advertisements, plays, stories, and even alphabet books, Americans racialized childhood innocence; Americans saw and presented white children as innocent and deserving of protection and cast black children as unbreakable, naughty, and ultimately unchildlike.
55. Gorge, "Cuando Conocí a Santa Claus" [When I Met Santa Claus], in Desmond et al., *Young People's Tribune*, [3].
56. Alvin and Larry, "The Rodeo Game," in Crownpoint Elementary School Sixth Graders, "Diné," 31–33. Several other Navajo children also wrote about the rodeo and their family members' participation in such activities, pointing to one of the particularities of this publication. See Lionel, "Uncle," 17, Ricky, "News Story," 30, Calvin, "Cartoon," 42, and Robert, "This Is [Thomas's] Fortune," 60, all in ibid.
57. Vernon, "The Start," in ibid., 43.
58. See Paul Rosier, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), for scholarship on this "duality" of Native American identities in twentieth-century politics and protests.

59. Theresa, "The Way of the Eskimo," in Lower Yukon School District Students, "Kwikpagmiut," [2].
60. See Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*.
61. Bess, [untitled], in Oakland Unified School District, "A Student Tribute," [40].
62. Larry, "Respect Me. . . . I'm Black," in ibid., [17].
63. Kathryne, "Little Black Girl," in ibid., [36].
64. Richard Nixon to Girls and Boys, June 8, 1972, RMN-PP, WHCF, Subject Files, IN, box 6, folder GEN IN 6/1/72–7/31/72, RMN.
65. Jimmy Carter to the Students of Hooper Bay School, May 25, 1977, JC-PP, WHCF, WHOA, OA 973, 114–17, JCL; Ronald Reagan to Girls and Boys, April 2, 1984, RR-PP, WHORM Subject File, PR 14-1, box 8, folder PR 14-1 Children, Requests to the President From (180000–210000), Case Number 197124, RRL; Louis Martin to Ruth B. Love, August 18, 1980, JC-PP, WHCF, WHOA, OA 10,156, JCL.
66. While thousands of children's letters and other writings have been preserved at each of the presidential archives, it is impossible to know how many have been destroyed. The Presidential Libraries Acts, passed in 1955 and 1978, gave authority to "the Archivist" to "dispose" of material that no longer had permanent historical or evidentiary value. The Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Ford, and Nixon presidential libraries did not participate in the systematic destruction of bulk mail. At least some disposal occurred during the Eisenhower administration before materials were transferred to the archive system. For example, the executive clerk at the White House authorized the destruction of approximately twenty thousand pages of bulk mail on Emmett Till in 1957. Unlike other presidential libraries, the Carter and Reagan libraries destroyed the vast majority of their bulk mail. See National Archives (NARA), "Laws and Regulations," archives.gov/presidential-libraries/laws; memorandum, William J. Hopkins, December 17, 1957, Dwight D. Eisenhower Records as President, 1952–60, WHCF, Alpha File, box 3113, T, Till, Emmett, only, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, Kans.; Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, "List of Holdings of Presidential Records and Historical Materials: WHORM Bulk Mail File, 1981–89 (289 feet)," 8–9, reaganlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/archives/textual/list-of-holdings-short.pdf.

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PART 3
CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH IN THE AGE OF FRACTURE

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Engineering Girls

THE EVOLUTION OF ADVOCACY FOR YOUNG WOMEN'S STEM EDUCATION

AMY SUE BIX

In March 2015 the fifth White House science fair opened with the title "Diversity and Inclusion in STEM [science, technology, engineering, and math]." Addressing young attendees and parents, President Barack Obama declared, "We get the most out of all our nation's talent . . . reaching out to boys and girls . . . of all races and all backgrounds. Science is for all of us. And we want our classrooms and labs and workplaces and media to reflect that."[1] By 2015 statements such as the president's sounded unremarkable. Other national leaders, educators, scientists, and engineers repeatedly declared that they wanted to welcome all youngsters into STEM, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, or other identity markers. But in the mid-twentieth century, no such campaigns to promote STEM diversity existed. The idea of science and engineering "for all of us" would have struck many midcentury Americans as strange. In that era, educational institutions, professional organizations, and popular culture encouraged white boys to grow up to become scientists and engineers while steering other children away. Young women were blocked from much of the scientific and engineering world; the relatively few who persisted often faced daunting opposition.[2]

This dramatic change in assumptions about who could and should pursue STEM did not happen by accident. Rather, it resulted from sustained, effective change and activism at the nexus of gender, education, politics, and science and engineering. During the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, female scientists and engineers (working in tandem with male allies and women in related fields) wrote articles, delivered speeches, and hosted conferences to accomplish four goals. They first sought to draw attention to female underrepresentation; to define such underrepresentation as undesirable; to promote measures to counteract that problem; and lastly to convince girls, parents, educators, STEM professionals, and others that young women could succeed in STEM if their talents were properly encouraged. These advocates largely succeeded in accomplishing these goals, drawing strength from broader political and social forces, espe-

cially the rise of the feminist movement, changes in civil rights law, and growing concerns about national economic and scientific competitiveness in the Cold War. Activists created programs within colleges and universities, professional scientific and engineering organizations, and government agencies that provided funding and both formal and informal support for the aim of bringing more women into STEM.

By the 1990s such advocacy had enshrined the idea that in order to make intellectual gains, drive economic expansion, maximize social well-being, and be fair to women, the United States should cultivate "nontraditional" intellectual interests and career options for girls. At the national level, that conviction connected with diversity initiatives promoted by government agencies, educational institutions, and major businesses. At the state and community levels, colleges, elementary and secondary schools, libraries, museums, and Scout troops mounted campaigns to excite young women about science and engineering. After-school programs, summer camps, conferences, and other outreach efforts offered girl-oriented, hands-on experimentation and mentoring. Such programs multiplied and grew, often thanks to funding from local sources and from large corporations and powerful organizations such as the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Engineering, and others, which poured millions of dollars into grants for bringing underrepresented youth into STEM.

By the twenty-first century, the movement for girls' STEM education had become firmly embedded not just in science and engineering culture but also in mainstream discourse. Celebrities embraced the goal as part of broader "girl empowerment" campaigns. Most significantly, international firms had enshrined support of girls' STEM education as a major element of their corporate philanthropy and public relations. Not coincidentally, Silicon Valley played a particularly prominent role in funding computer-coding initiatives for young women, as did companies focused on female customers.

The value attached to girls' STEM programs had become so powerful in the twenty-first century that it crossed partisan lines. Politicians and business executives defined female underrepresentation (especially in engineering and computer science) as a threat to future American technical competitiveness. In that light, support for girls' STEM education assumed new importance as an investment in human capital that was vital to future technological progress and economic growth. Under both presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump, Washington linked support of girls' STEM training to the challenge of maintaining national leadership in high-tech innovation. Partnering with big corporations, both administrations planned multimillion-dollar commitments to give more girls opportunities to master science, engineering, and programming.

STEM outreach campaigns geared toward girls could hide other forms of exclusion, however, and even risked exacerbating them. Despite the best efforts of many activists to expand participation to minority girls, low-income communities, and marginalized populations, STEM opportunities retained the aura of privilege associated with the high-tech corporate world. Girls sensed the persistence

of elitism, sexist assumptions, sexual harassment, and discrimination that adult women faced in STEM education and employment, and the double jeopardy of racial, economic, or other barriers only worsened a culture of exclusion. To the extent that the deep-seated economic inequities of twenty-first-century America made it impractical or impossible for a large number of families to give their children access to material security, extracurricular enrichment, college degrees, or prestigious internships, some girls (and boys) would be left farther behind than ever by the new valorization of STEM opportunities for girls.

Corporate funding contributed substantially to expanding the scale, scope, and public awareness of girls' STEM advocacy, but it also raised ethical questions about who should define the content and ultimate purpose of education. It was no surprise that big businesses poured hundreds of millions of dollars into K–12 STEM education and outreach, which connected their company names, logos, and products to an uplifting philanthropic mission. But crucially, some of the tech firms most active in sponsoring girls' STEM programs made headlines during the same period as lawsuits, reports, and whistleblowers lodged serious complaints about workplace discrimination, harassment, and sexism. Silicon Valley became notorious for a toxic and pervasive "bro culture," and many inside observers and academic researchers warned that it would drive away female employees. The net result was that in leading quarters of the American tech industry, women remained numerically underrepresented.

The seeming mismatch between these two phenomena, Silicon Valley's leadership in girls' STEM advocacy and adult women's contested place as employees in some of the same companies, is extremely revealing. Support for girls' coding camps burnished a company's image, yielding appealing photographs of young women excited about using technology, in contrast to negative press coverage portraying Silicon Valley as a hostile environment for female employees. Corporations could frame their funding of girls' STEM opportunities in uplifting terms as a game-changing investment in future progress, while discussions about the treatment of adult women (and minorities) in the tech industry only raised difficult questions, especially in the era of the #MeToo movement. Improving girls' STEM education was a socially and politically advantageous cause; cultivating it earned corporations praise from politicians and women's advocates even as they wrestled with or avoided painful questions about the industry's deeper structural discouragement of women.

Perhaps the ultimate lesson from this situation reinforces the weight of history, the fact that reversing trends of female underrepresentation for years, particularly in engineering, computer science, and certain physical sciences, would prove neither quick nor simple. Political, social, and gender changes over recent decades had created impressive momentum behind programs to encourage young women's STEM enthusiasm. At the same time, decades-old associations linked high-powered scientific and technological pursuits to masculinity, creating lingering educational, psychological, and social barriers to women's entry into traditionally male specialties.

Science and Engineering for Boys

Historically, Western science and engineering had been publicly defined by and for men through their control of business, public life, and higher education. In the late nineteenth-century United States, a small but growing number of young women began studying science in women's colleges and land-grant schools. But given that graduates were typically limited to lab-assistant jobs or other underpaid, low-level "women's work" in science, there was little rationale for expanding younger girls' pursuit of scientific training.[3]

Engineering excluded women even more rigidly. Men acquired technical skills through serving in the military, working in machine shops, or building railroads and canals. Frontier imagery equated engineering, masculinity, and progress, as did corporate labs at General Electric, AT&T, and Westinghouse.[4] No women's colleges before the twenty-first century offered engineering as a recognized major. The couple dozen women who had earned engineering degrees at Iowa State University, Cornell University, and other coeducational schools by the early 1900s were perceived as oddities, exceptions who naturalized the link between masculinity and engineering. As women, they weren't considered "proper" engineers; as engineers, they weren't "proper" women.[5] Any notion of educators and parents directing more girls toward engineering would have struck most Americans as bizarre and futile.

Cold War politics reinforced presumptions about science and engineering as natural territory for "the genius" and "the geek," both coded as male. Avionics company recruiting advertisements from 1966 pictured a young boy building a computer as a doll-toting girl asked admiringly, "Have you always been a genius?"[6] "Geek" connoted someone immersed in technology or other narrow obsessions, brilliant but socially awkward. Such impressions made science and engineering forbidding or unappealing to many young women seeking acceptance.

Portraying intellectual excellence as masculine by default, educational institutions constructed science and engineering for dedicated young male "eggheads." Prospects for steady, remunerative jobs marked the male engineer as a desirable breadwinning spouse, as did Cold War lionization of technical work. In 1955 Pennsylvania State University's dean of engineering, Eric Walker, spoke for many in saying, "Women are NOT for engineering."[7] The Georgia Institute of Technology did not admit women until 1952; the California Institute of Technology barred female undergraduates until 1970.[8]

After the Soviet Union's 1957 Sputnik launch, Cold War fears permeated K–12 teaching, fueled by horror stories about Soviet seventh graders' proficiency in calculus. Congress passed the National Defense Education Act "to correct as rapidly as possible . . . imbalances in our educational programs which have led to an insufficient proportion of our population educated in science, mathematics, and . . . technology."[9] Some commentators argued that since the USSR employed female scientists and technicians, the United States could not afford to neglect half its talent. Chemist Betty Lou Raskin told the American As-

sociation for the Advancement of Science in 1958, "We haven't even scratched the surface of our female brainpower supply . . . our most valuable untapped natural resource." Raskin traced women's absence from science and engineering to early gender conditioning, blaming children's absorption of media and advertising messages that valued female beauty over brains. Crystallographer Elizabeth Wood denounced "corrosive" lessons that "mechanical gadgets and scientific things are the province of boys and men, quite beyond girls and women to understand."[10]

Hundreds of young women wrote to Raskin, she said, requesting help in persuading mothers and fathers that scientific studies would not destroy their femininity or marriage potential. Other female scientists and engineers also reported receiving numerous inquiries from girls about advice for entering traditionally male fields. These professionals responded individually to girls' letters, distributed career-guidance pamphlets, and spoke to students, parents, and teachers. In 1952 the Society of Women Engineers (SWE) organized a presentation to inform New York high school women about nearby opportunities to study engineering. Pittsburgh SWE members held a symposium to tell high school women, counselors, and parents "why I am glad I studied engineering."[11] Simply by appearing in schools and public forums, SWE members sought to prove that "female engineers" were not mythical or unfeminine "freaks" but real women who combined work, husbands, children, intelligence, and attractiveness. Lillian Gilbreth was famed for balancing her respected industrial engineering accomplishments with her family of twelve. Fifties and early sixties media coverage emphasized normative femininity by telling readers how gracefully American women engineers juggled technical work with family obligations and how much they enjoyed cooking, sewing, and fashion. While other engineering women privately or publicly rejected such impressions, those who preferred to position themselves as "one of the boys" on the job were seen as oddities. Newspapers spotlighted the story of Marlene Schmidt, the German electrical engineer who won the 1961 Miss Universe title, wed Hollywood star Ty Hardin, and became an actress whose films played up that ideal of feminine beauty.[12]

Outreach efforts such as SWE panels were valuable on a small scale, but assumptions about the gender of technoscientific knowledge would not change overnight. In the 1950s women comprised less than 1 percent of U.S. engineers. National security concerns enabled advocates to argue for guiding more young women toward science and engineering. But many recommended that girls could best support the Cold War knowledge race by preparing for jobs as assistants to male professionals. In 1958 the A. C. Gilbert company repackaged its boys' chemistry set as a "lab technician set for girls" and colored those boxes pink.[13] For decades, science and technology toys promised boys hours of fun that excluded their sisters. Advertisements told parents that giving sons Erector sets, model railroads, and electricity kits would steer them toward rewarding engineering careers.[14] Cold War fears of Soviet military and scientific superior-

ity were not sufficient to challenge such sharply gendered messages to children. Transformation needed the catalyst of broader political and social changes in American life, especially the women's rights movement.

Feminist Politics and the Growth of Girls' STEM Outreach

Late sixties feminism mobilized individuals and groups to fight political, economic, social, and personal injustices against women. Feminists called on Americans to invest time and energy in ensuring that young girls' prospects for their future well-being matched their brothers'. Activists challenged cultural models that they believed indoctrinated children in outmoded gender roles. The 1972 book *Free to Be . . . You and Me* (and its accompanying songs) challenged assumptions that girls and boys should aim for different careers and that girls should value prettiness over self-fulfillment. Researchers, teachers, and parents criticized elementary school books that painted boys as accomplished and bold while depicting girls as obsessed with appearances and homemaking. In junior high science textbooks, "girls are illustrated as timid observers while the boys execute the experiments," one education expert wrote.[15] To counter such stereotypes, feminist groups created alternative children's materials. Lollipop Power, a Chapel Hill, North Carolina, women's liberation collective, published *In Christina's Toolbox*, a children's book about an African American girl who "felt so good when she could . . . build" and loved fixing her bike. Boston's SWE published a coloring book, *Terry's Trip*, about a girl who visited her aunt's workplace, a toy factory, and announced, "Someday I'll be an engineer like Aunt Jennifer." North Carolina's SWE produced *Betsy and Robbie*, a story about a girl fascinated with a robot designed by female engineers.[16]

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 made discrimination based on sex illegal in federally funded educational activities. The Education Amendments of 1976 established further steps to fight gender bias. Education researchers documented disparities in K–12 STEM patterns; one survey showed that 84 percent of male high schoolers continued taking math classes through twelfth grade, versus just 56 percent of female seniors.[17]

On account of the feminist movement, though, the number of women earning credentials in STEM rose significantly over the 1970s as overall female college graduation rates climbed and women on average waited longer before marrying and starting families.[18] In 1966 just 146 women nationwide completed bachelor's degrees in engineering; in 1980 5,952 did. Female biology graduates jumped from 7,465 in 1966 to 25,011 in 1980.[19] More female students chose premed tracks, and the 1970s environmental movement drew others into STEM. Totals in subdisciplines of physics, computer science, electrical engineering, and mechanical engineering remained paltry, but women's graduation rates in physical sciences, mathematics, and earth sciences rose overall.

More American women completing STEM undergraduate and graduate de-

grees made a difference to younger girls in multiple ways. As studies confirmed, having a parent in science or engineering validated and stimulated daughters' STEM interests. Mothers with STEM experience (as well as fathers increasingly accustomed to female STEM classmates and coworkers) helped extend female STEM interests to the next generation. Also starting in the 1970s, more women scientists and engineers became college faculty and administrators, despite persistent discrimination. Though not all identified as "feminists" or wished to devote time to women's causes, a critical mass did. Together with male supporters, those activists started campus chapters of SWE and groups for women in science, which kept pressing to open up those fields. Women's STEM groups at the University of Michigan, Purdue University, the University of California at Berkeley, and other schools visited nearby junior high and high schools and brought girls to campus for "career days." College women relished their status as role models as they showed girls fun laboratory demonstrations.[20]

Similar trends drove change as more women joined STEM professional societies and pushed for concrete measures to address gender disparities. In one instance, members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) formed a women's caucus in 1971. The AAAS established the Office of Opportunities in Science (OOS), which collated an inventory of three hundred "ingenious" programs of STEM mentoring and curricular innovations targeted at girls. The OOS praised K–12 districts, colleges, businesses, and museums for creating publications, posters, and exhibits about women in science, arranging presentations by female role models in classrooms and science fairs, and training teachers and counselors to nurture girls' scientific interests. Thanks to groups such as SWE, the OOS noted, "on the high school level, projects relating to engineering blossom at an astonishing rate." The group recommended more efforts to encourage more uncertain girls, expand hands-on learning for elementary-age girls, and welcome minority and disabled young women. A 1984 follow-up declared, "There are no inherent barriers to the successful participation of minorities or women in science or mathematics. . . . [When] provided early, excellent, and sustained instruction . . . their achievement levels parallel those of white males."[21]

Federal initiatives provided key funding for outreach; in 1975 the National Science Foundation (NSF) created the Women in Science Program. The 1980 NSF appropriations bill included the Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act, which affirmed that the "highest quality science . . . requires substantial support . . . for increased participation in science and technology by women and minorities." That legislation called for promoting STEM enrichment and career counseling for K–12 girls. Despite budget cuts and occasional controversy, NSF's Program for Women and Girls tracked underrepresentation, funded research on gender issues within STEM, and supported projects seeking remedies.[22]

Other girls' STEM initiatives started locally, then spread. In 1974 female staff at UC Berkeley's Lawrence Hall of Science, worried by girls' low participation in regular after-school programs, created special Math for Girls sessions. Bay

Area women started the Math/Science Network, winning a Carnegie grant to convince girls not to limit their options by dropping math. Two hundred teens attended the inaugural 1976 "Expanding Your Horizons: Women in Science and Mathematics" (EYH) conference. By 1985 EYH had reached fifteen thousand students in seventy-seven locations, where college women and adult professionals answered questions, handed out career information, helped girls conduct experiments, led parents' workshops, and showed films and skits promoting girls' potential in STEM. One student at EYH, Ellen Ochoa, grew up to become the first Latina astronaut, proving that spaceflight was no longer reserved for white men with "the right stuff."[23]

Mainstreaming Girls' STEM Advocacy

Researchers in the 1980s continued trying to understand "why girls don't do science," as physicist Alison Kelly phrased it. Psychologists, sociologists, educators, scientists, and engineers conducted numerous studies to tease apart complex challenges turning girls away from STEM: peer pressure, "chilly classrooms," barriers of self-doubt, "stereotype threat," and the "imposter problem."[24]

STEM outreach to girls drew on and connected with broader fights against gender bias in education. The American Association of University Women's influential 1992 report, *How Schools Shortchange Girls*, contended that classroom interactions and male-focused teaching material favored boys, eroding girls' self-esteem. Best sellers such as Carol Gilligan's *In a Different Voice* (1982), Mary Pipher's *Reviving Ophelia* (1994), and Peggy Orenstein's *Schoolgirls* (1994) detailed sexism's toll on young women. "Girl power" pop culture and organizations such as Girls Inc., Girl Scouts, and New Moon encouraged young women to assert strength and independence. Calls for empowering daughters reverberated with new generations of parents who grew up with expectations of expanded potential for women.[25]

Nineties era rhetoric upholding ideals of equity and justice raised further awareness of female underrepresentation in STEM. The Anita Hill case encouraged women to challenge sexual harassment, while human-resources staff, organization experts, psychologists, and sociologists analyzed subtler biases. Feminist advocates rejoiced when Hillary Rodham Clinton told the 1995 United Nations' World Conference on Women, "As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace . . . as long as girls and women are valued less . . . the potential of . . . a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized."[26]

Between 1966 and 2012 the numbers of women earning undergraduate, master's, and doctoral credentials in STEM climbed virtually each year. By 2012 female graduates claimed just over 50 percent of all STEM bachelor's degrees, including 58 percent of biology degrees, 41 percent in physical science, 39 percent in earth and ocean science, 25 percent in math, and 19 percent in engineering. As female college students, faculty, staff, and alumni in science and engineering multiplied, they laid the foundation for expanding university-based girls' out-

reach. In a 2002 study, fifty-one engineering deans explicitly identified K–12 initiatives as a high priority. Out of twenty-six schools surveyed, twenty-four already worked with local and national programs such as Introduce a Girl to Engineering Day.[27]

K–12 STEM programs gained visibility by teaming with established organizations for young women. In 1985 Girls Inc. developed Operation Science, Math, and Relevant Technology (SMART). Fifteen years later, Operation SMART had reached half a million girls, telling them that "their ambition is as natural as boys'—and as necessary . . . to become leaders of the 21st Century." In 1992 the Girl Scouts partnered with Philadelphia's Franklin Institute to train leaders and distribute science kits to troops. In 1993 the University of Illinois began offering hands-on workshops to help Girl Scouts earn new merit badges in entertainment technology, digital arts, innovation, web design, and nature studies. Baylor and many other colleges and universities launched day camps and after-school programs where female undergraduates helped troops explore wind power, build computers, and play math games.[28]

To maximize outreach effectiveness, the Girl Scout Research Institute asked 850 female teenagers in 2012 what encouraged or deterred them from pursuing science and engineering. Seventy-four percent declared themselves interested, though 57 percent anticipated they would need to work harder than men to be taken seriously in STEM, and over 38 percent feared they would not receive fair treatment. One preteen said that girls "have more to prove." Girls were more likely to express enthusiasm if they had parents interested in STEM, knew STEM professionals, or took part in science extracurriculars. Analysts concluded, "STEM . . . interest among girls is there, it just needs to be primed . . . [b]y 'marketing' STEM careers to girls the same way more common careers for women are promoted." To "market" STEM, the Scouts published website biographies of female innovators, created girls' robotics teams, and sent troops to national science fairs.[29]

Another national organization promoting STEM was the YWCA, which in 1997 launched TechGYRLS, "a safe, boys-free environment for girls to explore their interests and let go of misconceptions." TechGYRLS programs expanded to multiple cities, where young women experimented with building bridges, lava lamps, and Rube Goldberg devices while getting advice on careers and scholarships. The National Air and Space Museum, the New York Academy of Science, and other museums around the nation created girls' enrichment programs.

Concerns remained, especially since the 1970s and 1980s increases in women pursuing engineering had stalled, leaving female representation stuck at around 20 percent. Engineering had an "image problem," analysts concluded. Large numbers of children (and adults) had no idea—or misguided ideas—about what engineers actually did. In "draw an engineer" tests, grade schoolers confused engineers with auto mechanics or construction laborers; not coincidentally, most drew engineers as men. Older girls saw engineering as boring and unwelcoming, intended only for brainy, emotionally cold, geeky men.[30] Wil-

liam Wulf, National Academy of Engineering (NAE) president, warned that this "pocket protector . . . caricature" was especially "repulsive" to girls. Research showed that young women weighing career options prioritized "enjoyable" work that improved people's lives; accordingly, Wulf emphasized technical work's "creative" dimensions and social utility.[31]

In 2001 a new NAE website, "Engineer Your Life," assured high school girls, "Engineering . . . [gives] you the chance to travel . . . going where there is the greatest need and making a lasting contribution. . . . Dream Big. Love what you do. Become an engineer." NAE profiled real women engineers in "dream jobs," designing brain surgery tools and "saving the planet" by providing clean water and renewable energy. Targeting junior high girls, NAE's companion site proclaimed, "Women engineers . . . make the world a better, cleaner, and safer place. They make a difference every day . . . in their communities, raising families, enjoying . . . sports and hobbies." Teams of female engineers answered hundreds of user-submitted questions, some of which revealed girls' self-doubt. One wrote, "Civil and structural engineering [have] always stuck out to me [as] fascinating . . . [b]ut . . . I do not believe that I am bright enough. . . . I badly want to become a [*sic*] engineer but it scares me and having people tell me I'm not gonna be able to handle it puts me off even more." Advisors reassured young women, "It is normal to have feelings of uncertainty." Another asked, "Do you think I can be an aeronautic engineer, even if I'm a girl? Most . . . are laughing at me . . . [and] my hopes are going down. Even my parents, they don't . . . trust me . . . saying that I can't make it." The E-Girl team responded, "Prove them all wrong. You can do it!"[32]

By the early 2000s, an ever-widening range of programs promised STEM motivation for K–12 girls. Summer camps taught space exploration and oceanography. Girls for Planet Earth monitored community water quality. Sisters in Sports Science helped girls explore the physics behind volleyball and fencing. Websites invited girls to solve science-related mysteries or design virtual race cars. An NSF-funded online game starring a Chinese American fourth-grade girl, "Adventures of Josie True," led users to solve science and math problems. In the NSF-funded eBook *Talk to Me*, a teen girl collaborated with friends to develop an artificial intelligence cat. Interactive supplements invited users to read blogs giving "an insider's look at what it's like to be a [woman] engineering student."[33]

Managers of high-tech enterprises complained about difficulty securing highly educated workers amid growing awareness of the field's severe gender imbalance. In 2012 just 18 percent of U.S. bachelor's degrees in computer science went to women, sharply down from their 37 percent share in 1985. Many observers attributed that decline to the arrival of personal computers, which may have strengthened associations between masculinity and geekdom, links further reinforced by harsh "weed-out" college courses. To reverse such trends, advocates initiated special efforts to interest girls in preparing for well-paid tech work. New organizations such as Stanford's Girls Teaching Girls to Code,

Girls Who Code exercise, Shreveport, Louisiana. Photograph by Robert and Talbot Trudeau, https://www.flickr.com/photos/robert_trudeau/19312753300/in/photostream/. Republished under the following Creative Commons license: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.0/.

TECHNOLOchicas, and Black Girls Code aimed to make programming accessible and exciting. Girls Who Code, the largest initiative, started in 2012 as an eight-week computer class for twenty high school women. Four years later, the group sponsored seventy-nine girls-coding clubs in New York City alone. Across forty-two states, more than ten thousand young women joined weekly meetings at libraries, colleges, and host companies, including IBM and Amazon. Volunteer mentors helped girls build games and mobile apps, design websites, and master graphics and robotics. With backing from General Electric, AT&T, and other major donors, Girls Who Code offered one million dollars' worth of scholarships in 2016 for girls to attend summer immersion camps. Major firms pledged to secure paid internships for young women finishing training. One commented, "I would never have imagined that I would become so interested in this field. . . . [I]t feels pretty AMAZING to be a Girl Who Codes."[34]

Inequities in Girls' Access and Workplace Diversity Issues

The trendiness of girls' STEM advocacy reflected key tensions in American political life within the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first. Backing projects such as Girls Who Code brought companies and institutions favorable publicity, but changing climates to improve adult

women's work experiences in science and engineering proved tougher. Political theorists have suggested that beginning under President Bill Clinton, elite business communities such as Silicon Valley turned some progressive social ideals (within limits) to their own ends under the guise of modernization and globalization. Emphasizing that "there isn't a single U.S. corporation that doesn't have an HR office committed to respecting the differences between cultures," literary theorist Walter Benn Michaels declared that "multiculturalism and diversity more generally are even more effective as a legitimizing tool."[35] Workplaces internalized frameworks for inclusion, with lengthy policies and procedures supervised by specialists and consulting operations.

Philosopher Nancy Fraser has described the emergence of a "corporate feminism focused on 'leaning in' and 'cracking the glass ceiling.'"[36] It was no accident that girls' coding education became a top cause for tech firms, since that mission meshed so smoothly with this "corporate feminism." Under the vague but compelling mission of "female empowerment," figures as politically estranged as Ivanka Trump and Reshma Saujani, founder of Girls Who Code, could equally proclaim their dedication to breaking down male domination of the tech world. Girls' STEM advocacy neatly provided at least partial common ground for Democrats and Republicans, feminists and CEOs, politicians and educators, scientists and humanists, parents and activists, young women and adults.

The growing place for businesses in STEM education bolsters the impression held by many Americans today that corporations can serve as positive change agents. As Anand Giridharadas writes, such belief papers over fundamental contradictions, such as the Goldman Sachs public relations campaign that touted its work with female business owners as fighting economic inequity, a framing well out of line with the rest of the firm's character. Corporate STEM initiatives similarly amount to what Giridharadas calls "virtuous side projects."[37] In Silicon Valley, it became fashionable to back the socially validated cause of girls' STEM education, just as among different cliques, patronage of the arts served to acquire and leverage cachet.

Support for girls' STEM became a consumer commodity, with messages that through strategic shopping, parents and other adults could help girls envision science and engineering as natural, desirable female pursuits. Marketers capitalized on enthusiasm (including that of girls themselves) to sell coding camps, "STEMinist" T-shirts, and juvenile books about female scientists. Entrepreneurs designed "engineering toys for girls," including the Goldieblox sets of dolls, books, and construction parts and Roominate kits to build dollhouses with working electricity. Craft kits for making lip gloss, shampoo, and candy were rebranded as purchases to help girls love chemistry. Big box stores such as Target carried dolls dressed in lab coats, packaged with miniature test-tube sets and microscopes.

In talking about raising a new generation of young women passionate about coding and prepared to succeed, Silicon Valley could avoid or downplay questions about why current female employees complained of discrimination. By

funding girls' STEM, corporations with relatively poor records of retaining adult women tech workers could pivot and win praise. K–12 outreach endorsed diversity without risking public uproar and internal dissension that surrounded controversies of unequal pay and promotion. Firms insisted they wanted female engineers but just couldn't find enough; they implied that after girls' STEM education expanded, hiring would naturally evolve to draw in more women. Yet research complicated assumptions that traced adult women's underrepresentation in STEM to a lack of supply originating in childhood. A 2008 study concluded that "41 [percent] of highly qualified scientists, engineers, and technologists on the lower rungs of corporate career ladders are female." Nevertheless, "the female drop-out rate is huge. Over time, fully 52 [percent] of highly qualified females [quit] . . . driven out by hostile work environments." A 2016 survey of over two hundred tech women found that 60 percent had experienced unwanted advances, 84 percent had been critiqued as overly aggressive, and 87 percent faced putdowns from male coworkers, reinforcing the image of what critics dubbed Silicon Valley's "brogrammer" culture.[38]

Charges of tech firms as toxic to women made frequent headlines. Accusations roiled Tesla, Microsoft, Twitter, Tinder, venture capital firms, and Uber, where, engineer Susan Fowler alleged, management routinely ignored harassment and retaliated against accusers. Between 2015 and 2017, Fowler said, women's representation in her area at Uber plunged from 25 percent to 3 percent. Google roused controversy following engineer James Damore's circulation of a memo asserting that "biological causes" made women less suited than men to succeed in tech and that the company's pursuit of diversity while ignoring gender differences in "preferences and abilities" was "unfair, divisive, and bad for business." Social scientists quickly challenged Damore's interpretations of gender psychology and cognitive skills, but ensuing debate underlined the fact that women comprised just 20 percent of engineers at Google (a figure apparently in line with many others in Silicon Valley). Within days, Google CEO Sundar Pichai issued his own memo, declaring, "To suggest a group of our colleagues have traits that make them less biologically suited to that work is offensive." When app-building teams of female students came to Google's headquarters as part of its Made with Code outreach program, Pichai told them, "I want you to know that there's a place for you in this industry . . . at Google. Don't let anyone tell you otherwise. You belong here and we need you."[39]

Reports suggested, however, that some fellow Google employees shared Damore's belief that tech businesses had gone in the wrong direction by promoting diversity. Explaining that the Google episode prompted her own daughter to ask whether biology accounted for female underrepresentation in tech, YouTube CEO Susan Wojcicki described it as "yet another discouraging signal to young women who aspire to study computer science. . . . [H]ow tragic it was that this unfounded bias was now being exposed to a new generation."[40]

On a positive note, adult advocates and young women themselves came forward to challenge those who doubted female STEM talent. Girls in elementary

and secondary school joined parents, educators, and activists in fighting lingering assumptions that science, technology, and coding primarily belonged to boys. Tens of thousands signed up for computer classes and summer STEM camps. By 2018 Girl Scouts had earned badges in cybersecurity, robotics, space science, and mechanical engineering. Young women sported T-shirts reading, "Forget Princess—I want to be an astrophysicist." Such popular STEM swag provided an entirely new form for expressing girlhood.

Yet digging beneath the rhetoric of STEM inclusivity for girls raises questions about the persistence of other kinds of discrimination. Historically, families had long aimed to give sons education to foster socioeconomic mobility. With feminism and modern social change, more twenty-first-century parents hoped to boost daughters, like sons, into careers to "climb the ladder" and achieve "the American dream." But though STEM advocacy promoted gender-equity ideals, other national trends led to increasing class, ethnic, and racial disparities. Economic downturns, residential and school segregation, and instability in everyday life widened financial and educational chasms between secure and insecure homes. Paralleling the growth of economic inequality, evidence shows widening divides in poor versus more well-off childhoods. Connecting to Paula Fass's concept of the middle-class "managed child," sociologist Annette Lareau has documented how middle-class families plan organized activities to develop offspring in desired directions, a "concerted cultivation" resulting in "transmission of differential advantages." A 2015 Pew Research Center study found that 70 percent of families with annual incomes above $75,000 said their communities offered high-quality after-school activities, while more than half of families below $30,000 reported lacking good, affordable options. Sixty-two percent of well-off families and 66 percent of parents with college degrees enrolled school-age children in art, dance, or music lessons versus just 41 percent with lower incomes and 42 percent among high school–educated parents.[41]

Research has documented many ways in which privilege filters children's opportunities through differential resources in schools, communities, and home. Studies of science fairs, for example, underline the lead possessed by youngsters who spend hundreds of dollars and hours preparing their exhibits and who can access sophisticated equipment and mentoring, often through university or tech-based parents. Literally awarding prizes to this elite, science fairs thus often favor girls and boys who start with disproportionate advantages.[42]

STEM after-school, weekend, and summer programs became indicators of which parents and communities had time and resources to invest in children's enrichment services. Fees for some coding camps approached a thousand dollars. While some daughters and parents grumbled about being overscheduled for robotics team, math tutoring, and other extracurriculars, other families found STEM options rare. To combat this disparity, many programs opened classes in urban areas and gave scholarships to needy participants. The Girl Scouts, Girls Who Code, and other groups partnered with schools, teachers, and libraries to reach marginalized young women and minorities. Poorer families might find it

difficult to secure a slot in such free programs, however, and hard to transport daughters there regularly while juggling other family and work demands. Spots filled up quickly at Apple and Microsoft Camps, which required adults to shepherd children to those stores three or four days in a row. The rule that a parent or legal guardian accompany offspring for the entire time could pose sizable barriers for households with a single parent or two parents working full time.[43]

Partial successes with specially targeted outreach, moreover, could not always surmount obstacles blocking some girls' access to STEM initiatives. Some young women were expected to help with younger siblings or family chores after school and during vacations. Others could not easily travel to sites hosting STEM programs; children in rural areas had little chance to attend a free coding event at Microsoft Stores on New York's Fifth Avenue or other big-city and suburban-mall locations. Rural families were hours away from other resources, such as girls' STEM outreach programs held on college campuses. Though youngsters could access an increasing amount of coding instruction online, families in Iowa farm communities, small-town Tennessee, and other remote locations expressed frustration at their lack of options.

Vicious cycles tended to perpetuate systemic disadvantages. One of the factors best supporting a girl's desire to enter STEM was having a parent in science or engineering. Professional families also typically had the earning capacity to afford houses in good school districts, finance children's enrichment activities, and plan for the rising cost of college. Such was not true for households confronted with the wage stagnation and job insecurity increasingly prevalent in retail, industrial, and service sectors. The net result made app-building classes, space camp, and other STEM initiatives markers of privilege that no longer primarily separated girls and boys but instead threatened to divide children of advantaged backgrounds from the rest. To the extent that growth of STEM literally put a premium on children who grew up with special access, those who failed to meet new standards, even if by no fault of their own, might be seen more as the undeserving poor.

Research shows how economic inequity turns areas into "STEM deserts." In a 2017 analysis, teachers in communities with low poverty rates reported that 61 percent of fourth graders and 86 percent of eighth graders did hands-on science activities at least once a week. Figures for higher-poverty schools fell to 47 percent in fourth grade and 69 percent in eighth grade. The discrepancy carried into high school; 90 percent of well-off districts offered twelfth graders access to physics, 88 percent offered access to statistics courses, and 62 percent had computer science. Among schools where at least three-quarters of pupils were eligible for free or subsidized lunches, just 43 percent offered twelfth graders any physics, just 52 percent offered statistics, and a mere 26 percent had any computer science classes.[44]

Beyond state or federal action, outside contributions seem an obvious option to help supply costly lab equipment, computers, and teacher preparation in needy areas. Yet corporate assistance was meant to serve business priorities,

which might or might not accord with the ultimate pursuit of equity. Some observers worried that as schools and states embraced coding-for-all initiatives, minority or poor children might receive basic instruction while still lacking access to more advanced computer science and math. Such youngsters might grow up to qualify for entry-level technical jobs, such as IT support, but lack the groundwork to secure higher posts. These circumstances might lead to a future economy in which a growing premium on technical knowledge only ratified and deepened socioeconomic unevenness. Enthusiasts touted the prospect of a high-tech future filled with well-paid, exciting work readily available to all qualified women and men. But there are no guarantees of such a utopia, especially given the history of poorer women and minorities being channeled into underpaid, dead-end jobs. In fact, today's Silicon Valley is one of the country's most unequal regions, where half of post-2009 income gains went to the top 1 percent, the middle class has shrunk, and remaining residents confront stagnant pay, skyrocketing housing costs, displacement, and food insecurity.[45]

Such concerns do not negate the valuable accomplishments of girls' STEM advocacy over recent decades. The hard work and dedication of thousands of teachers, policy makers, volunteers, parents, and young women themselves have paid off, giving female students practical, psychological, and social support to explore fields once primarily reserved for men. Funding from major corporations facilitated the creation and expansion of opportunities, including a number that helped poor and minority girls.

It was no coincidence that the girls' STEM movement was able to grow so quickly in recent years, even as adult women across different workplaces wrestled with harassment and discrimination. The frustration of combatting those conditions sharply contrasted to the optimistic sentiments of girls' STEM advocacy. Many individuals, groups, and institutions, of course, do an excellent job of helping both K–12 and adult women in STEM. But it is noteworthy that girls' STEM advocates found widespread support, even as women who speak against Silicon Valley's bro culture have drawn a nasty backlash, as in the trolling attacks and hatred directed at former Reddit CEO Ellen Pao after she took steps to stop harassment and "revenge porn" posts.[46]

American women today have gained unprecedented access to good education and careers in science and engineering compared to pre-1960s conditions. Campaigns have raised awareness of female underrepresentation, especially in engineering and the tech industry. But stubborn forces remain to frustrate prospects for continued change. The result is a vast gulf in which political, corporate, and public support for girls' STEM education coexists with (and may help temporarily obscure or distract from) ongoing issues facing adult women in STEM fields. Advocacy for young women in STEM serves as a projection of equity ideals perhaps to be realized down the road. For the moment, the situation only reinforces the lessons of history, how hard it is to overcome deep-rooted cultural constructions of engineering and computers in particular as more appropriate for boys than girls. Meanwhile, the net result was to make app-building classes,

space camp, and other STEM initiatives markers of privilege that no longer primarily separated girls and boys but instead threatened to divide children of advantaged backgrounds from the rest.

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"Say You Love Satan"

TEENS AND POPULAR OCCULTURE IN 1980S AMERICA

KYLE RIISMANDEL

In the fall of 1987, U.S. surgeon general C. Everett Koop delivered the keynote address to the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC) symposium.[1] Koop's address, "Raised on Rock 'n' Roll: The Sound and the Fury," emphasized the moral and social dangers of popular culture, particularly those posed by heavy metal music and pornography. He told his audience of concerned parents that these products led directly to premarital sex, violent behavior, and occult worship. Koop argued that hazardous products were no longer relegated to the periphery of American culture but brought directly into the home via industries motivated by money rather than morals. At the dawn of the 1980s, Music Television (MTV) and cable television more generally delivered a wider variety of less regulated content into the home, particularly suburban homes where families could afford the luxury of cable service.[2] Bypassing parental censors, these new outlets—along with more traditional media such as records, audio- and videotapes, and board games—created a specific problem for a generation of parents raised with a more limited set of highly regulated media.[3] "Now we have rock videos without control and frequently viewed without parents even being aware," Koop lamented. "Many that I have seen are senseless violence with senseless pornography to the beat of rock music." Ultimately, Koop argued that music and music videos encouraged deviant and dangerous activity, which proved all the more hazardous because parents were unaware of and unable to cope with the avalanche of material coming straight into the home.[4] The surgeon general's address expressed profound cultural fears concerning the well-being of 1980s teens. Critically, Koop identified popular culture as the principal site of danger for young Americans. Rather than a health crisis worthy of state intervention, the Satanic panic of the era was a cultural crisis for individual families that galvanized concerned parents and culture warriors such as Koop.

The surfacing of the culture wars made it likelier for distraught parents to see new popular culture products as the cause of various tragedies.[5] In this way, parents concerned with the content of consumer culture products found com-

mon cause with a vast, diverse movement that battled the liberalization of cultural mores in the aftermath of the 1960s.[6] Drawn from the pew into politics, these groups promoted a "Judeo-Christian" ideology to ameliorate perceived moral crises such as abortion, divorce, and pornography.[7] As historian Robert Self argues, "In the second half of the 1970s, conservative evangelicals created a furor over the state of the American family without precedent in the twentieth century. . . . [E]vangelicals, led by right-wing fundamentalists, raised the specter of family breakdown as national ruination."[8] Evangelical Christian groups such as James Dobson's Focus on the Family, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, Randall Terry's Operation Rescue, and Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority used direct-mail literature and televised preaching on expanding satellite and cable networks to raise consciousness and spur action.[9] Christian evangelicals not only participated in full-throated critiques of popular culture as deleterious to young consumers but also saw personal and family action as the key to protecting youth.

These culture warriors had a champion in the White House who touched on similar themes. "Let's give our children back their childhood," Ronald Reagan implored in 1985. "Let's give them the support all children need—the support of traditional values like family, faith, hope, charity, and freedom."[10] The culture wars, then, provided a framework for parents making sense of popular culture products enabling their fear. They could more easily understand these products as powerful influences on young consumers and the home as the primary front in combatting these dangerous influences.[11] In particular, the mainstreaming of conservative Christian beliefs regarding the amorality of the culture industries through the skirmishes of the culture wars made it easier to "see" Satanism and the occult operating in popular culture.

For Koop and the concerned parents he was speaking to, the debate about media effects was not simply an abstract political argument. Beginning in the early 1980s, culture warriors like Koop were responding to the emergence of murder and suicide as visible threats to American youth. Federal statistics indicated an overall increase in teen suicides, while certain high-profile incidents of suicide and murder directed attention to these social problems.[12] Primed to see cultural products as mortally dangerous, parents and other culture critics, whenever tragedies occurred, pointed the finger at Satanic and occult messages ostensibly found within such products. In several notorious tragedies, parents and culture critics blamed heavy metal and role-playing games like *Dungeons and Dragons* (*D&D*) for their sons' deaths. In one case, an avowed worshipper of Satan and a Knight of the Black Circle blasted metal music as he killed another Long Island teenager. In another, *D&D* players supposedly conflated their real and game lives, resulting in suicide. In two separate incidents, three young men committed suicide, supposedly inspired by their favorite heavy metal artists Judas Priest and Ozzy Osbourne.[13]

Within this context, 1980s parents, frightened by the increasing visibility of suicide, substance abuse, and other social ills, largely did not locate the causes

of or solutions to these problems in the realms of education, medicine, science, and public policy but in consumer culture. Parent-turned-crusader Pat Pulling formed Bothered About *Dungeons and Dragons* (BADD) after her son died while playing the game in 1982. She believed *D&D* promoted occultism and suicide by encouraging players to imagine themselves as magical characters casting spells. Her group produced materials to inform parents about the perils of such games as she attempted to empower families to make better choices within a marketplace rife with occult threats. While Jerry Falwell, Bob Larson, and more stridently Christian culture warriors enabled activists like Pat Pulling, they provided a foil for others who sought a more practical goal of protecting vulnerable audiences rather than pursuing a religious or ideological agenda. Most famously, parents like Tipper Gore and her organization, the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC), practiced a "commonsense" politics of individual empowerment that sought neither censorship nor the total indictment of the culture industries. Nevertheless, the PMRC articulated the broader conservative cultural politics of the day by attempting to insulate the idealized family home from dangerous cultural products.

Together, Christian conservatives and concerned commonsense parents articulated the idea that keeping adolescents from playing *D&D* or listening to Judas Priest could prevent teen suicide or occultism. This was part of the broader conservative cultural politics of the Reagan revolution. For his part, Reagan explicitly communicated a new vision of social reform through which his administration would be "reducing the role of the Federal Government in all its many dimensions" to "leave to private initiative all the functions that individuals can perform privately."[14] This meant that expenditures on social welfare programs occupied a smaller share of federal spending and gross domestic product in 1985 than in 1981, largely hurting those most in need.[15]

Initiatives on pressing social issues fell instead into advocacy and consciousness-raising rather than structural solutions through policy making. Most famously, First Lady Nancy Reagan undertook the Just Say No to drugs campaign, which was emblematic of the administration's approach to social problems. Locating solutions in the marketplace, she encouraged kids to refuse drugs to eliminate demand and destroy drug markets.[16] President Reagan declared, "By educating our children about the dangers of drugs, we're going to dry up the drug market and kick the dope peddlers right out of this country. Every time Nancy and I meet this country's wonderful young people, we feel more confident that we are going to win this battle."[17] While an admirable goal, Just Say No did nearly nothing to address why kids took drugs or how drugs entered their communities.[18] A similar approach was also applied to teen suicide. In his speech declaring June 1985 Youth Suicide Prevention Month, the president insisted that the government would not *directly* address suicide but would work instead to "strengthen the family unit and foster a sense of individual worth."[19] This was the Reaganite approach to the social ills of the 1980s. His administration reduced funding for social programs and research while emphasizing indi-

vidual and family empowerment that had vastly different implications for white suburban communities than for urban communities of color. The 1986 federal budget, for instance, called for reduced spending on drug treatment and education while increasing the enforcement allocation to $1.8 billion. These funds generally wound up in the hands of state and local authorities who disproportionately targeted urban communities of color but did little to lessen demand for or use of drugs.[20]

By promoting privatism and voluntary citizen activism, the Reagan administration empowered concerned parents, mostly white and suburban, who located the danger to their kids in popular culture products found within the home. This orientation marginalized social science, medical data, and public policy solutions that could have helped a broader swath of youth in danger from depression, drug abuse, suicide, and teen pregnancy.[21] By the same token, the efforts of concerned parents and culture warriors buttressed and justified administration policy. In their legal battles, advisory literature, and media appearances, concerned parents marked occult, sexual, and violent hazards from cultural texts as real and imminent, produced and distributed by an amoral culture industry, and linked conclusively to violent, transgressive behavior among teenage audiences. This constant drumbeat of fear enabled the entrenchment of safety and health as privileges of middle-class suburban status rather than as expectations of American citizenship.

Satan in the Suburbs

In 1984 New York City newspapers reported that Ricky Kasso and James Troiano had allegedly murdered acquaintance Gary Lauwers and mutilated his body as part of a Satanic sacrifice in Northport, on the north shore of Long Island. According to law enforcement, Kasso tortured Lauwers after a botched drug deal and forced him to repeatedly say, "I love Satan."[22] Just a day after the murder, lead detective Robert Dunn further underlined the occult associations of the murder. "This was a sacrificial killing," Dunn insisted. "They built a roaring fire in a field near the woods. They cut the sleeves out of his shirt and burned them and they took his socks off and burned them. I don't know what this is supposed to mean, but this is what they did. It's pure Satanism."[23] News media portrayed the murder as a shock for the population of the serene, middle-class community of Northport.[24] One resident said, "There are exotic things that happen in Manhattan, but they don't happen in Northport," while another claimed, "We've never seen any bad disturbances, nothing like this. It's shocking—the three boys are from the town itself."[25] Bad things happened—just not in Northport. In the era of the culture wars, rumors of Satanic influence were enough for parents and police to declare it the cause of this heinous act.

To explain how a safe community of tree-lined streets could be home to such a horrific crime, police contended that a Satanic cult called Knights of the Black Circle had been using and selling drugs while listening to the supposedly dark

influences of heavy metal in the town's Aztakea Woods for nearly three years.[26] News reports indicated that the members of the alleged cult, despite hailing from good homes with significant advantages, had fallen into lives of drug abuse.[27] These articles portrayed these teens' love of heavy metal as deviant. Unlike their college-bound peers, a love of heavy metal put them on course for drug abuse and Satan worship. Later, as the legal case against James Troiano concluded with a not-guilty verdict, police and news media quietly acknowledged that the murder had been about nothing more than drug deals and drug abuse.[28] Despite this revelation, the murder's associations with heavy metal and Satanism persisted.

By the time of Lauwers's murder in 1984, Satanism and the occult had already emerged as a national news topic following the high-profile murders committed by the Manson Family in the late 1960s and the flowering of various other pagan and/or Satanist cults. According to Christopher Lasch, this was an era when Americans searched for meaning through "psychic self-improvement" in any number of "therapeutic" programs, religions, and belief systems.[29] In these pursuits, Christian televangelists and conservative culture critics saw Satanic and occult influences.[30] By the early 1980s, occult fears had been stoked to such an extent that Satan was seemingly everywhere. Even mainstream capitalist megalith Procter & Gamble had to defend its trademark—a man in the moon surrounded by thirteen stars—amid rumors that it was a secret symbol of Satanism.[31] By the spring of 1982, P&G had fielded some twelve thousand queries each month about its relationship to the devil, though persons affiliated with competing companies had spread most of the rumors.[32] Throughout the 1980s, television talk show hosts from Oprah Winfrey to Geraldo Rivera produced episodes on the topic. At the same time, a vibrant home video market also disseminated tapes on the threat posed by Satanism and the occult, furthering the sense that secret dangers pervaded American life.[33] Allusions to devil worship held great cultural currency. It seemed not only possible but also likely that a mainstream brand like Procter & Gamble—which made deodorant, diapers, and food—could be run by Satanists or that neighborhood kids interested in *Dungeons & Dragons* were recruiting members for their cult.

The emergence of heavy metal as a mainstream music genre in the 1980s inflamed culture warriors' concerns about the occult.[34] Notions of occult influences in heavy metal had dogged the genre since its emergence. These ideas only grew as metal fragmented into numerous subgenres, including death metal, black metal, and grindcore.[35] Some artists such as W.A.S.P. and Slayer capitalized on these associations by using occult imagery and making explicit references to devil worship. Others such as Judas Priest and even hard rock bands such as KISS were assailed as demonic because of dark clothing, stage theatrics, and vaguely religious imagery.[36] By the 1980s, normative understandings of heavy metal—constructed in large part by Christian evangelicals—took the musical form as a dark, disturbing marker of occultist influence in American popular culture.[37] And to mark a product as Satanic or occult communicated some-

thing to the less religiously inclined. For a postwar American population bred to understand the nation as divinely blessed and morally righteous, these destructive influences symbolized a moral degradation that shook the very foundations of American identity.[38]

In the cultural environment of the 1980s, occultism (and its most feared strain of Satanism) held tremendous explanatory value for police, parents, and the news media. In the Northport case, the boys' known love of heavy metal intersected with broader fears of occult worship. In the months preceding the crime, Ricky Kasso was cited for stealing a skull and hand from a Northport cemetery crypt, apparent evidence of a Satanic ritual.[39] In the woods where these rituals purportedly took place, reporters and police found graffiti honoring the teens' favorite artists: Ozzy Osbourne, Black Sabbath, and AC/DC, hence the name of the alleged cult, Knights of the Black Circle—disciples of wax records. After expressing disbelief at the depravity of the crime, lead detective Robert Dunn insisted that rock videos glorifying Satanic rituals were an important influence on the killers.[40] To police, news media, and the general public, the wickedness of the murder itself (in which Gary Lauwers's body was mutilated and partially burned) and the boys' love of heavy metal could only mean that Satan was at work.[41] Satan had come to the suburbs.

Bothered about *Dungeons & Dragons*

Emerging alongside fears of the occult in heavy metal was a new threat from *Dungeons & Dragons*, a fantasy role-playing game (RPG) that was invented in 1974 and reached peak popularity in the 1980s. *D&D* players create characters led by a dungeon master on a campaign of adventures and challenges to complete.[42] With its focus on imaginary worlds, magical spells, and mystical imagery, the game and its imitators became targets for parents who feared that children would be inextricably absorbed in an occult fantasy. This fear was made manifest by incidents of players "becoming" their game characters in real life and reinforced in news and popular culture, which reported stories of players being compelled by occult powers to act out the game, with deadly consequences. Emblematic of the cultural logic of the age, conservative media critic Thomas Radecki summed up these fears in 1985: "There is no doubt in my mind that the game *Dungeons & Dragons* is causing young men to kill themselves and others."[43]

Radecki and others felt so strongly because of the well-publicized deaths of RPG enthusiasts like James Dallas Egbert. A child prodigy and avid *D&D* player, Egbert vanished while attending Michigan State University as a fifteen-year-old freshman in 1979. His parents and university authorities feared that he had attempted to live out his fantasy life in a network of dangerous steam tunnels beneath the campus. He had indeed ventured into the steam tunnels, but not at the behest of any dungeon master. Pressure to succeed in his courses and difficulty fitting in with his older colleagues had triggered a bout of depression. He fled to

Louisiana to start over away from college and his family but eventually killed himself there in 1980. Egbert's story was illustrative of an increasing focus on occult products as the cause of suicide rather than the more common causes of alienation and depression. This was a mode of thinking about social ills inflamed by the Satanic panic that would become policy during the Reagan-Bush years.

In Egbert's case, it appears he suffered from untreated clinical depression. Yet when his parents hired private investigator William Dear to find James, they emphasized that their son had often played *D&D*, obfuscating their own role in their son's disappearance. Dear then posited that Egbert had entered the tunnels as part of an RPG.[44] This theory was picked up by the Michigan State University campus newspaper, the *State News*, and eventually by the national news media. Even after doubts began to emerge about the *D&D* theory, newspapers continued to circulate and legitimate it. Three years after his death, the *Washington Post* still connected his disappearance to RPGs. "Although D&D has been in existence for a decade," the *Post* story stated, "it was not until 1979 that the game caught the attention of the nation in a spectacular way: a Michigan State University student disappeared for almost a month in a 10-mile network of steam tunnels under the campus where he and some friends would act out rounds of the game in an atypical fashion (it is normally played indoors with paper and pencils). This rather bizarre example of fantasy roleplaying seemed all the more weird a year later when the student, James Egbert, committed suicide."[45] Despite the *Post*'s efforts to demystify *D&D* in this article, players were consistently linked to narratives of suicide and danger brought on by occult influences in the game. Rather than stressing the diagnosis and treatment of the complex causes behind depression and suicide, cultural critics and concerned parents suggested that the way to protect young suburbanites was to police their consumption of media.

Inspired by Egbert's story, Rona Jaffe's novel *Mazes and Monsters* and its film adaptation by the same name reinforced and reproduced the notion that Egbert's suicide had stemmed from his addictive love of *D&D*.[46] Viewed by millions on CBS in December 1982, the movie tracked Robbie Wheeling as he transferred to the fictional Grant College to start over after becoming addicted to *Mazes and Monsters*, a *D&D* analogue. By all appearances, Robbie is a normal college student. He attends classes and has a girlfriend. Yet he is slowly drawn back into playing the game, demonstrating its demonic hold on participants. Playing day and night with the game's dark forces, Robbie can no longer distinguish between *Mazes and Monsters* and his real life. He hallucinates that he has become his game character, a cleric. To achieve his character's final goal of getting to the "great hall," Robbie believes he must jump from the World Trade Center. Even though his friends are able to stop him, the end of the film shows Robbie living out the rest of his life in an institution, foreclosing upon the promising middle-class life he would have likely enjoyed without the destructive influence of *Mazes and Monsters*.

The Wheeling story served as a cautionary tale about RPGs and occult worship. Its narrative vividly and explicitly linked self-destructive behavior to RPGs without any sense of the psychological complexity of hallucinations and suicide attempts. In the first chapter of her novel, Jaffe directly addresses concerned parents and not her presumed audience of teen readers. "Perhaps what was most disturbing about this case was something that was on every parent's mind," she writes. "These players, the ones who had gone too far and the one who had disappeared, could be anybody's kids; bright young college students . . . given the American Dream and rejecting it to live in a fantasy world of invented terrors."[47] Jaffe believed that basing her novel on a supposedly true story lent her cautionary retelling greater credibility. It was not simply an author's fantastical creation but a story about a real young man seduced by the occult. Both the book and the film cast doubt on the games many teens loved, justifying parents' fears and moving them to protect their children.

Soon after *Mazes and Monsters* aired, another "true" story attested to the dangers of *Dungeons & Dragons*' occult influence and launched a parental crusade. In 1982 L. "Bink" Pulling III, a teenager from Norfolk, Virginia, committed suicide, supposedly on the orders of his dungeon master. Pulling's mother subsequently founded BADD to raise awareness about the dangers of *D&D* so that other parents could save their children from suffering Bink's fate.[48] In their introductory letter to the public, Pat Pulling and her husband wrote, "We are concerned with violent forms of entertainment such as: violent occult-related rock music, role-playing games that utilize occult mythology and the worship of occult gods in role playing situations like *Dungeons & Dragons*, teen Satanism involving murder and suicide." They believed their organization would be "influential in the restoration of respect for human life" by acting as "a referral system for people who need help regarding entertainment violence issues." Rather than lobbying or prevailing upon government to regulate these products, the Pullings made BADD an information clearinghouse that distributed publications highlighting the scourge of the occult, including booklets on witchcraft and Satanism and an educational video on the dangers of *Dungeons & Dragons*.[49] As part of this effort, Pat Pulling distributed a thirty-eight-page pamphlet about *Dungeons & Dragons* and later published *The Devil's Web: Who Is Stalking Your Children for Satan?*, a parenting manual that sought to highlight the larger menaces of Satanism and occultism.[50] BADD emphasized parental knowledge and intervention to restore "traditional values" in the home rather than medicalization and treatment for teens dealing with depression and suicidal thoughts.

In 1985 RPGs and their supposed occult associations were thrust further into the spotlight on the highly rated CBS newsmagazine, *60 Minutes*. Introducing a segment on *Dungeons & Dragons*, correspondent Ed Bradley connected the game directly to dangerous activities among its teen audiences: "*D&D*. It's popular with kids from grammar school on up. Not so with adults who think it's been connected to a number of suicides and murders."[51] The scene cut to teen-

agers hunched over a table in a basement as Bradley informed the TV audience that the game features goblins, thieves, and spirits. Bradley then listed the murders and suicides of young *D&D* players: "Timothy Greiss, twenty-one, shotgun suicide. The detective report noted the *D&D* game became a reality. Irving 'Bink' Pulling, sixteen. A suicide. Daniel and Stephen Irwin, sixteen and twelve. A murder and a suicide. Police said they were obsessed with the game. James Alan Kirby, fourteen years old, charged with killing his junior high school principal and wounding three other people. Police are blaming *D&D*." No effort was made to explain or contextualize these tragic acts beyond the victims' associations with these games. Instead, Bradley's comments reflected the seeming consensus that RPGs were causing alcohol abuse, depression, murder, and suicide among American teens.

In the discourses surrounding such cases, *D&D* offered a clear culprit. Bradley even noted at the end of his report that residents of a Connecticut town held a municipal discussion about the dangers of *D&D* after the suicide of a thirteen-year-old boy there. Reagan era principles of devolution and family responsibility animated such localized solutions to social ills. As Health and Human Services Secretary Otis R. Bowen explained in 1986, "The Administration intends to focus instead on emphasizing the role of families in suicide prevention. . . . The role of the family has been given too little attention in recent years."[52] Enabled by the culture wars, this approach helped make material the class and race divisions of the administration's social policies, in which suburban parents were empowered while urban families were subject to increasingly invasive and punitive state intervention.

Parents v. Heavy Metal

In the midst of parental mobilizations against the influences of the occult in popular culture, three young men, purportedly under the sway of heavy metal, killed themselves. On October 27, 1984, nineteen-year-old John McCollum shot himself in the head while listening to Ozzy Osbourne.[53] Just over a year later, on December 23, 1985, James Vance, twenty, and Raymond Belknap, eighteen, went to a church playground and committed suicide with a shotgun, reportedly at the subliminal urging of their favorite band, Judas Priest.[54] The parents of McCollum, Vance, and Belknap filed wrongful death suits against Osbourne, Judas Priest, and their record labels, arguing that they encouraged their sons to shoot themselves. These lawsuits and their portrayal in the news media illuminated the dire consequences of popular "occulture," a term I use to describe the panoply of products and representations thought to be associated with the occult in the 1980s. Further, the focus on popular culture as the root cause of teenage tragedy marginalized the emotional distress that likely led to these incidents while further valorizing the family-centered approach to preventing future misfortunes.

Jack McCollum sued CBS Records and Ozzy Osbourne, alleging that his son's suicide was encouraged by Osbourne's song "Suicide Solution."[55] Osbourne claimed that the song was antisuicide, as he had written it about the alcohol-related death of his friend Bon Scott, lead singer of AC/DC.[56] James McKenna, the lawyer retained by the parents of James Vance and Raymond Belknap to sue Judas Priest, argued that "the suggestive lyrics combined with the continuous beat and rhythmic nonchanging intonation of the music combined to induce . . . the plaintiff into believing the answer to life was death."[57] In both cases, the parents saw the music of heavy metal artists as Trojan horses sneaking into their homes under the guise of legitimate entertainment. Once inside the home, the music worked its dark magic to trick their sons into killing themselves to fulfill the wishes of Satanic artists. In the Osbourne case, the plaintiffs alleged that masked lyrics on "Suicide Solution," heard when the record was played backward, encouraged listeners to grab a gun and shoot themselves. Similarly, the plaintiffs in the Judas Priest case claimed that the band attempted to control the minds of its listeners through hidden messages.[58] For rock critic Jon Pareles, this argument about hidden messages resonated, because heavy metal "reaches teen-agers and seems to exclude parents—it's a great noisy unknown."[59] Yet it soon became clear that no subliminal or masked messages appeared on the records. Judas Priest singer Rob Halford joked that if his band had a secret message, it would be to tell fans to buy more records.[60]

Ruling on the Osbourne case, Judge H. Walter Croskey found that Osbourne's song did not contain the requisite "call to action" to be held liable.[61] However, he was still concerned about heavy metal: "An alarming number of (primarily) heavy metal and mainstream stars sing about suicide as one way to deal with problems; some almost seem to promote it."[62] Moreover, these cases reinforced the futility of structural solutions to social problems for parents. Had the victims' families won their lawsuits, more court cases and legislation likely would have followed.[63] Record companies and artists may even have felt compelled to censor themselves preemptively to avoid litigation or arrest. However, these cases demonstrated that the courts could not be used to stop the distribution of these records or hold their makers accountable. Indeed, this failure to find heavy metal artists legally culpable for their fans' suicides and the conservative climate of social reform in the 1980s left concerned parents with little recourse other than their own private solution: policing popular culture themselves.

In the fall of 1985, the Senate Subcommittee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation took up the issue of explicit content in music. At the hearings, parents, artists, record labels, and politicians jockeyed to frame the debate. Rather than advocate for government intervention, the PMRC followed President Reagan's lead, using the hearings to promote their cause and bolster their organization with the ultimate goal of employing less divisive grassroots tactics to empower parents.[64] Artists and labels argued that the PMRC sought to undermine First Amendment rights through government regulation, while the PMRC and the subcommittee claimed that children and families were endangered by

explicit content, thereby necessitating industry self-regulation and family intervention. Susan Baker, president of the PMRC, echoed this sentiment in her opening statement. "Some say there is no cause for concern," Baker explained. "We believe there is. Teen pregnancies and teenage suicide rates are at epidemic proportions today. . . . There certainly are many causes for these ills in our society, but it is our contention that the pervasive messages aimed at children which promote and glorify suicide, rape, sadomasochism, and so on, have to be numbered among the contributing factors."[65] Instead of taking into account the more complex causes of teen social problems, the subcommittee and the PMRC blamed the culture industries.

By empowering parents to police their children's media consumption, PMRC and similar groups replicated the prevailing Reaganite strategy for ameliorating social problems. As Just Say No and the campaign for suicide awareness demonstrated, the Reagan administration privileged government policies and private-sector action that would shore up the individual and the idealized American family. In the service of combatting teen suicide, Reagan called for "research and policies which strengthen the family unit and foster a sense of individual self-worth."[66] Health and Human Services Secretary Otis R. Bowen reiterated this sentiment in 1986. "So often in the past," Bowen declared, "the nation has sought pocketbook remedies. I do not believe creating costly new bureaucracy and calling that the answer should be our goal."[67] Even the artists who opposed the PMRC and Reagan seemed to concur with this emphasis on personal and family responsibility. In his congressional testimony, Frank Zappa essentially agreed with the PMRC's proposal that lyrics should be made available to the consumer so they could make an informed choice.[68] Despite the high stakes of these issues, this type of solution made safety a privilege for parents and guardians who could effectively monitor their children's popular culture consumption while offering little for those who could not. In this cultural climate, the structural deficiencies in education and social assistance were beyond the purview of concerned parents and the federal government, who saw the issue as one of consumer protection from dangerous media.

The PMRC did successfully convince some Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) members to voluntarily label music with supposedly explicit content and put pressure on artists to tone down their music and imagery.[69] However, those were limited successes. The heavy metal genre continued to grow in popularity, while the record industry's refusal to do more robbed the group of much of its mission. Even the implementation of parental advisory stickers meant to educate consumers largely functioned to drive sales of records with explicit content.

In response, the PMRC regrouped. They reshaped their fundamental purpose and philosophy more in line with the prevailing politics of the day. Members continued appearing frequently in the news media on programs such as *20/20*, *60 Minutes*, and *Nightwatch with Charlie Rose,* as well as in print news articles.[70] However, this media strategy was designed to publicize the group's new efforts

as a clearinghouse for "real" information about the dangers of popular culture. Their pamphlets, books, videos (like the 1988 *Rising to the Challenge*), and even a hotline were aimed at individual parents rather than a more generalized consumer audience or even imperiled young consumers themselves.[71] In this way, the group endorsed the authority and even the responsibility of parents to protect children, an assuredly conservative vision of social reform.[72]

Tipper Gore's *Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society* was the quintessential document of her organization. In it she stressed the immediate threats of popular culture, because "in the hands of a few warped artists, their brand of rock music has become a Trojan horse, rolling explicit sex and violence into our homes." The Trojan horse metaphor was key to understanding concerned parents' perspectives on popular culture. Their remedy focused on individual, local action, with parents actively vetting their children's choices, because even seemingly innocuous products could be hazardous. As Gore explained in a section titled "Prevention Begins at Home," "Parents, churches, synagogues, and schools can start by pointing out the dangers of negative media messages and by encouraging young people to adopt discriminating listening and viewing habits. Most important, parents should *spend time* with their children."[73] Mobilized by the political climate of the culture wars, concerned parents eschewed legislative strategies and broad-based initiatives, opting instead for local, private action to protect their families from hazardous pop culture products.[74]

With the emergence of occult dangers in their basements, backyards, and parks, concerned parents of the 1980s found themselves on the battlefield of the culture wars. Yet they did not stand passively as clashes over abortion, gay rights, and religion in public life raged all around them. Empowered as "the real heroes . . . trying to raise their children in an environment that seems to have grown more and more hostile to family life," they took up arms against the products they felt endangered their children.[75]

Some, like Pat Pulling, fought within a broader movement of Christian conservatives who lamented what Pulling called "the ever-growing web of occultism that threatens to entrap America's children."[76] Others, like Tipper Gore and the PMRC, forged a middle road. Concerned parents' focus on popular culture reflected a growing skepticism of state solutions to social problems, part and parcel of a broader reconfiguration of the welfare state. Similarly, the emphasis on cultural representations and practices oriented discussions of teen social problems away from their complex but ultimately understandable medical and socioeconomic origins.

As the 1990s began, the culture wars continued to shape the conflicts over American values, leading President Bill Clinton to largely embrace the concerned parent framework for dealing with social issues. As a candidate, he upbraided rap artist Sister Souljah to mark himself as a New Democrat with conservative cultural instincts. As president, he increased funding for some social programs but also signed the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which featured

a provision that empowered parents to regulate television use through V-chip technology. Mandated on all televisions over thirteen inches manufactured after January 1, 2000, the V-chip filters programming according to parents' wishes and in alignment with voluntary ratings set by the broadcast and cable industry.[77] Upon signing the Telecommunications Act, Clinton hailed V-chip technology as a tool that would empower families to choose suitable programming without infringing on First Amendment rights. More than simply a victory for Clinton's centrist, third-way politics, the V-chip was a solution born of the culture wars. Much like record labeling, informational videos, pamphlets, and parenting manuals, this solution imagined engaged and empowered parents who could make use of the information and technology designed to help them. Even then, evidence suggests that most parents made little use of the V-chip, finding it too difficult to use.[78] Consistent with a broader turn toward family responsibility in the regulation of culture, the V-chip offered a symbolic, politically expedient solution that obscured the structural causes of broad social problems.

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Accessing Equality

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, THE FIRST AMENDMENT, AND THE EQUAL ACCESS ACT OF 1984

JENNY DIAMOND CHENG

In February 2016 a rural Tennessee county erupted in controversy over the Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) club at the local high school. Students at Franklin County High School had recently launched the club, which was devoted to supporting and promoting acceptance for LGBTQ+ members of the school community. The news prompted a fierce backlash, however, and a school board meeting about the club drew hundreds of supporters and critics. Demonstrators in the parking lot displayed rainbow, Confederate, and Christian flags.[1] One enraged Franklin County father warned that the GSA was part of a "radical gay political agenda" and graphically described the sex acts that these groups would be purportedly teaching to children.[2]

As much as members of the Franklin County school board may have wanted the club—and the controversy—to simply disappear, their options were limited by a 1984 federal statute. The Equal Access Act (EAA) prohibits secondary schools from discriminating against extracurricular student-led clubs on the basis of what the students want to discuss at club meetings. The EAA establishes that if a school receiving federal funding has at least one non-curriculum-related student-run club that meets outside of class time, then the school has to treat all such clubs equally.[3] Over the last two decades, as student gay-friendly clubs have proliferated in public and private high schools across the nation, the EAA has become a vital source of legal protection for high school students seeking to start GSAs over the objections of school officials, parents, and/or community members.[4] Indeed, in a series of cases beginning in the mid-1990s, high school students successfully sued school districts to enforce their rights under the EAA to form a GSA club or similar group.[5]

Yet the EAA was never intended to protect LGBTQ+ students seeking to establish support groups. On the contrary, the law was a victory for Reagan era social conservatives.[6] After the Supreme Court struck down school-sponsored prayer as unconstitutional in the early 1960s, conservative Christian activists spent years trying to reinstate official teacher-led prayer in public schools.

When these efforts proved fruitless, school prayer advocates shifted their focus to protecting student religious expression. The stated purpose of the EAA was to defend student Christian Bible study groups against hostile public school administrators.

This chapter examines how a statute that was designed to protect Christian students against the corrupting pressures of secular high schools has turned out to be LGBTQ+ students' most important weapon in seeking protection from self-described Christians. The key is that the EAA effectively enshrined certain liberal values and assumptions about young people's capabilities, the role of schools, and the importance of free speech. Specifically, the framers of the EAA drew heavily on a 1969 Supreme Court decision upholding high school students' free speech rights under the First Amendment.

The story of the Equal Access Act is instructive in several ways. First, it illustrates that young people have occasionally gained rights as a by-product of being used as pawns in adult-led ideological battles.[7] The drafters of the EAA were motivated primarily by a desire to reinstate school prayer, not to defend student expression, but they wrote a statute that contains important protections for student speech. Second, the EAA is an example of how statutes can preserve historical constitutional understandings. Soon after the EAA was passed, a much more conservative Supreme Court began to steadily narrow students' rights to constitutional speech, but the EAA maintains those rights in statutory form. Finally, the history of the EAA highlights the long-standing interplay between conservative and liberal legal strategies, in which each side adopts and reframes the other's arguments to serve its immediate goals.[8]

The Equal Access Act as Consolation Prize

By the early 1980s conservative Christians who were worried about the secularization of American public schools were becoming increasingly frustrated. Twenty years earlier, the Supreme Court had handed down two decisions that effectively outlawed teacher-led prayer in public schools. In *Engel v. Vitale* (1962), the Court invalidated the daily reading of a short, nondenominational prayer in New York schools. A year later, in *Abington School District v. Schempp* the Court struck down a Pennsylvania law that required Bible readings and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of every school day.[9] The Court's decisions triggered a furious backlash, and over the subsequent decade Congress considered three different proposals to amend the U.S. Constitution to restore state-sponsored school prayer. All of them failed.[10] Growing increasingly irritated, school prayer advocates tried to strip federal courts of their jurisdiction over cases involving prayers in public schools, but these proposals too ultimately went nowhere. In 1982 President Reagan, backed by conservative Christian groups, sent a proposed school prayer amendment to Congress. When the measure finally came to the Senate floor in March 1984, though, it failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority.[11]

Over and over again, school prayer proponents ran into the same wall: most Americans supported school prayer in the abstract but not necessarily in the particular.[12] The goal of most advocates was to restore teacher-led, school-sponsored Christian prayer to the public school classroom. Yet any given proposal prompted resistance from some subset of the school prayer coalition. As a presidential candidate in 1980, Ronald Reagan declared, "I would be absolutely opposed to a state-mandated prayer, but I have always thought that a voluntary, non-sectarian prayer was perfectly proper, and I don't think we should ever have expelled God from the classroom."[13] As president, though, his proposed constitutional amendment faced opposition not only from liberal groups like the ACLU and Jewish organizations, which consistently fought any efforts to promote religion in American public schools, but also from the Catholic Church, mainline Protestant organizations, and some evangelical Christians.[14] Scholar Joan DelFattore sums up the prevailing dynamic:

> As long as the discussion remained at the level of "Who wants to be on God's side," support for state-sponsored school prayer appeared to be unbeatably strong. It inevitably fragmented, however, in relation to any proposal that included *this* word instead of *that* word, one provision but not another. . . . By the time the language had been softened enough to reassure people who feared government intrusion into religious matters, there was too little substance left to satisfy those who wanted to restore Christian prayers to the public school.[15]

Even before Reagan's election, though, conservative Christian activists had already begun to pivot to a different strategy. Beginning in the late 1970s, groups like the Christian Legal Society started to reframe school prayer primarily as student religious expression. In this rendering, prayer was, above all, speech and was protected by both the doctrine and the values of the free speech clause of the First Amendment. This new line of argumentation animated many of the Christian Right's legal and political victories in the 1980s.[16]

The Supreme Court's 1981 decision in *Widmar v. Vincent* was an important early success.[17] The case arose after the University of Missouri–Kansas City forbade an evangelical student group from meeting on campus, citing a rule that prohibited using university buildings for religious purposes.[18] The students sued, and the Court ruled 8–1 in their favor. Writing for the majority, Justice Lewis Powell found that the university's rule violated the First Amendment because it discriminated against religious groups on the basis of their speech.[19]

Conservative Christian advocacy groups, most notably the Christian Legal Society, immediately brought lawsuits seeking to extend the *Widmar* ruling to primary and secondary schools. The federal courts, however, largely rebuffed these efforts. In a footnote, Justice Powell had suggested that the Court's holding in *Widmar* might be limited to colleges: "University students are, of course, young adults. They are less impressionable than younger students and should be

able to appreciate that the University's policy is one of neutrality."[20] In several cases that followed, lower court judges cited similar concerns that young students might easily misinterpret religious activities held on primary and secondary school campuses as being officially endorsed by school authorities.[21]

In response, activists mobilized to fight for a federal law that would protect student religious clubs at all grade levels. Sympathetic legislators were receptive, and in May 1984 the House first debated a proposed Equal Access Act. This version of the EAA denied federal funding to any public secondary school that discriminated against student-led religious groups. But the bill ultimately failed to pass, despite strong Republican support.[22]

In the wake of this failure, lobbyists from the Christian Legal Society and the ACLU worked out a compromise: if the EAA covered all voluntary student groups, both secular and religious, then the ACLU would withdraw its opposition.[23] This agreement paved the way for another round of negotiations and lobbying, and in the summer of 1984 Senators Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) and Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.) cosponsored a new, content-neutral EAA as an amendment to a law about math and science education. The revised EAA dictated that any secondary school receiving federal funding could not discriminate against noncurricular student meetings held outside instructional time on the basis of "religious, political, philosophical, or other content" of student speech.[24]

Critics argued that the law would force public schools to open their doors to violent extremists, religious cults, and other undesirable groups. A few noted, presciently, that students wanting to form a gay rights group would now have a valid claim against school administrators. An unsigned *New York Times* editorial warned that advocates "may think that they are putting God in the classroom, but atheists, too, would have their hour. So would socialists, homosexuals and vegetarians."[25] In Senate floor debate, Senator Slade Gorton (R-Wash.) voiced similar concerns: "I am convinced that the [EAA] clearly covers the Ku Klux Klan . . . clearly allows an organization, discussions of which involve promoting the idea of racial superiority of one group or another, clearly beyond the slightest peradventure of argument protects a gay rights organization in a school."[26]

Despite these criticisms, the EAA easily passed in both the Senate and the House.[27] Unlike the school prayer amendments, the equal access statute appealed broadly to nearly all Christian groups, including Catholics, mainline Protestants, and evangelicals.[28] Indeed, at the behest of popular Christian broadcasters such as James Dobson, thousands of voters flooded congressional phone lines in support of the EAA.[29] For many legislators, the Equal Access Act—after it was revised to protect all sorts of student groups, not just religious ones—was a safe way to support the idea of school prayer without alienating civil libertarians. In an election year, many Democratic legislators were especially eager to avoid attacks from the Right on this issue.[30] President Ronald Reagan signed the Equal Access Act into law on August 11, 1984.[31] A federal statute limiting high

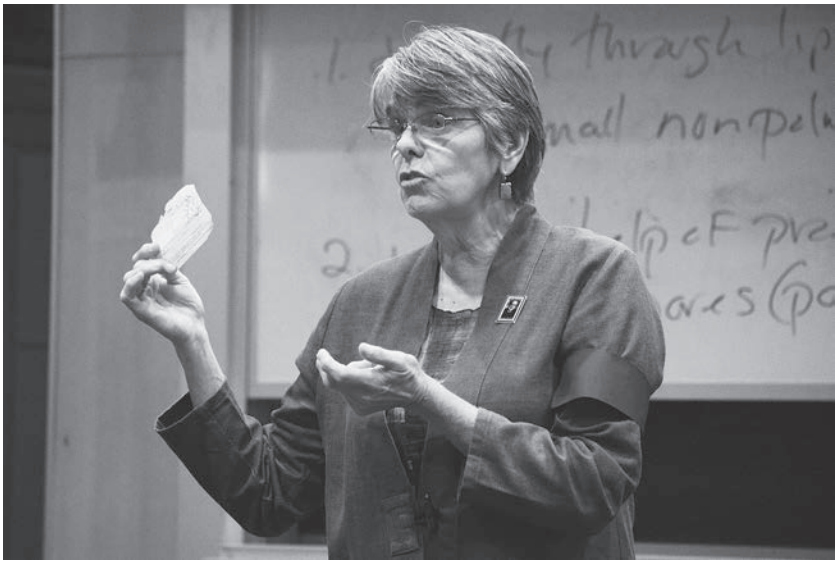
school administrators' control over extracurricular clubs might not have been the law of school prayer advocates' dreams, but it was sufficient enough for conservative Christian activists to consider it a victory.

Liberal Values in Service of a Conservative Agenda

In shifting from a focus on teacher-led prayer to concerns about equal access for students' religious speech, school prayer advocates were making a tactical move. The goal was to get prayer back into the schools by any means possible. As one senator explained, "I see this [the EAA] as a preliminary step, but an important one in that it will at least permit, in a speedy manner, the mention of the word of God, or the study of the Bible, or religious meetings, will return that right to the school ground."[32]

This strategy, however, was genuinely radical. To argue for equal access, advocates had to—at least rhetorically—completely discard certain key assumptions about both young people and public schools that had underpinned the school prayer movement of the previous two decades. In building a new legal framework for these ideas, the conservative Christian activists of the 1980s drew heavily on the legacy of the liberal Warren Court. The activists who had fought to restore school-sponsored prayer in the 1960s and 1970s relied on two core ideas: first, children are uniquely impressionable; and second, public schools are crucial venues for transmitting majoritarian religious values. They took the fight for school prayer so seriously precisely because they believed that public schools could—and should—socialize young people into widely held Christian beliefs, which in turn would promote better morality and citizenship. Both of these concepts proved highly problematic. Critics of the various proposed school prayer amendments wholeheartedly agreed that schoolchildren were unusually impressionable; it was because students were so vulnerable to pressure from peers and teachers, they argued, that even "voluntary" school prayer would effectively be coercive. And as discussed earlier, the nebulous shared religious values of the American people were easy to invoke but turned out to be very difficult to define. Furthermore, members of minority religious groups argued that parents at least had the right to resist schools' efforts to indoctrinate children into religious teachings with which they disagreed.

But moving to an equal access framework changed everything. Equal access rested on an underlying vision of public school students as independent actors who arrived at school with their own firmly held religious beliefs. The paradigmatic student was no longer the young elementary schoolchild who urgently needed spiritual guidance but a highly competent teenager who was fully capable of starting and running an extracurricular religious club without adult leadership or guidance. What's more, equal access proponents argued that such clubs were important because religious students needed to have the space to resist the schools' efforts to socialize them into majoritarian secular values.



Mary Beth Tinker, of *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District* fame, holds up her original detention slip during a September 2017 speech at Ithaca College in New York. Photographer unknown. Republished under the following Creative Commons license: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/.

This new conceptualization had its roots in the student activism of the 1960s. During that tumultuous era, high school students around the country launched protests about national issues such as the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War. They challenged dress codes and other decisions of school administrators. These protests gave rise to a series of cases in which students argued that school officials were infringing upon their right to free speech.[33] In the landmark 1969 case *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District*, the Supreme Court upheld the First Amendment rights of high school students who had been suspended for wearing black armbands to school as a protest against the Vietnam War.[34] Writing for the Court, Justice Abe Fortas famously declared, "It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate." The *Tinker* plaintiffs, he explained, had the constitutional right to express their own opinions about controversial issues like the war: "In our system, state-operated schools may not be enclaves of totalitarianism. . . . [S]tudents may not be regarded as closed-circuit recipients of only that which the State chooses to communicate." Justice Fortas was particularly troubled that Des Moines school officials had apparently banned only the wearing of black armbands, not all political symbols. This selective enforcement was clearly unconstitutional, he noted.[35] In arguing for equal access, conservative activists enthusiastically adopted the language of the liberal *Tinker* Court. Testifying before the Senate Ju-

diciary Committee in 1983, counsel for the National Association of Evangelicals quoted Fortas and argued:

> But relying on recent decisions of lower Federal Courts, a public school could post the following sign on the schoolhouse gate:
>
> > Attention students. The Constitution forbids all voluntary student-initiated religious meetings anywhere on this campus at any time.[36]

Speaking on the House floor in 1984, Representative Trent Lott (R-Miss.) deployed a similar argument, citing *Tinker* and noting that the courts have "allow[ed] both the radical right and the radical left to be granted access to the schools. . . . [Y]et, any type of religious expression . . . has been ruled out of order."[37] Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) even highlighted one of the *Tinker* plaintiffs' religious motivations: "There was a very famous case of a girl who was the daughter of a Quaker minister who, during the Vietnam war, wore an armband to school to protest our Vietnam war policy. It was interpreted by school officials as a political statement and as such was not allowed in the classroom."[38] Indeed, the drafters of the Equal Access Act actually incorporated language from the *Tinker* decision into the statute itself. The Court had noted that schools could prohibit speech that would "materially and substantially disrupt the work and discipline of the school."[39] The EAA stipulates that protected student groups must not "materially and substantially interfere with the orderly conduct of educational activities within the school."[40]

It is unclear whether the conservative Christian activists who pushed for the EAA were genuinely interested in protecting student speech or if their newfound interest in young people's First Amendment rights was a purely strategic move to advance evangelical goals. Although the stated purpose of the EAA was to protect student expression, young people themselves were largely absent from the debate over the law. Religious leaders, representatives from educational organizations, and lawyers dominated discussions about whether extracurricular student-led clubs needed statutory protection. The very first hearings on a proposed Equal Access Act did feature testimony by a number of high school students, including several who had been involved in post-*Widmar* lawsuits.[41] Their comments reveal a complicated dynamic between individual groups of religious students and adult advocates. The students spoke with conviction about their personal experiences trying to organize religious clubs and urged Congress to make sure that teachers and school administrators understood that students had a right to pray and talk about their religion at school. The students' written statements, though, were clearly drafted by lawyers. Indeed, one California high school student expressed dismay about how adult supporters had taken over the cause. Her group had negotiated an informal agreement with the school principal, but a local pastor had taken it upon himself to seek media attention and press the school board to officially recognize the religious club. The students were unhappy about this, as she noted: "We felt everyone was going to other people about this issue. They were going to [the local pas-

tor], they were going to the school board and the principal, but no one ever came and asked us what we felt."[42]

These young people themselves emphatically embraced the equal access framework. Explaining why and how they started religious clubs at their schools, the students stressed their own autonomy. One high school student declared: "Some people are worried that high school students are very impressionable, and that we can't make decisions and that we are naïve. . . . I don't think that is true at all."[43] These religious students also thought of their clubs as an important vehicle for resisting what they viewed as the secular, even corrupt, values sanctioned by their schools.[44] The California student mentioned that a teacher at her school had invited a prostitute to speak to a class: "We thought that this was really strange that they would allow a prostitute to come and speak on campus and not allow Christians to meet."[45] A high school senior from Minnesota described how a teacher had allowed students to write research papers about "demon possession, breast-feeding, and suicidal notes" but had rejected a proposed paper about the resurrection of Christ.[46]

In response to such arguments, skeptics of equal access continued to argue that public school students were unusually vulnerable to coercion and indoctrination. They expressed doubt that these religious clubs were truly student led and worried about outside groups manipulating young people. Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) ominously predicted that if the EAA passed, "the cult groups of this country will be standing on the sidelines applauding and maybe laughing to themselves as well because they will know that this amendment is going to make life a lot easier for them in marketing their cults."[47] Metzenbaum and other observers thus echoed the claims that the school district had made in *Tinker* and foreshadowed those later made by opponents of student LGBTQ+ groups.[48] Still, the move to equal access put liberal opponents on the defensive. The notion of free speech had wide appeal, as did the earnest Christian teenagers trying to start school Bible groups. As historian Eileen Luhr has astutely noted, "Student-led prayer liberated conservatives from the mantle of censor and frequently left secularists to defend heavy-handed school administrators and boards of education that tried to regulate the time and place for school prayer."[49]

The Supreme Court Retreats from Student Free Speech

The Equal Access Act became law in 1984. In the years immediately following, however, the Supreme Court began to move away from the strongly protective stance toward student free speech that it had taken in *Tinker*. Yet the EAA, as discussed before, reflected the values and even the actual language of the Court's highwater point for student expression. When a constitutional challenge to the EAA finally reached the Court in 1990, then, the justices carefully steered clear of *Tinker*-type arguments about student rights and decided the case on statutory and Establishment Clause grounds.

In 1986 the Court held that a Washington State high school had not violated a student's First Amendment rights by punishing him for delivering an off-color speech at a schoolwide assembly.[50] Writing for the majority in *Bethel School District No. 403 v. Fraser*, Chief Justice Warren Burger distinguished Matthew Fraser's "vulgar and offensive" speech from the *Tinker* plaintiffs' "nondisruptive, passive expression of a political viewpoint." Burger emphasized that a core function of the public schools is to teach children how to express themselves politely and appropriately: "The schools, as instruments of the state, may determine that the essential lessons of civil, mature conduct cannot be conveyed in a school that tolerates lewd, indecent, or offensive speech and conduct such as that indulged in by this confused boy."[51]

In his dissent, Justice John Paul Stevens criticized some of his fellow justices for treating the Washington high school students differently from how they had treated a group of high school students who were trying to start a Christian club. Referencing the dissenting opinions in the Court's decision not to hear an appeal in one of the post-*Widmar* cases, Justice Stevens noted that "the Court describes respondent as a 'confused boy' and repeatedly characterizes his audience of high school students as 'children.' When a more orthodox message is being conveyed to a similar audience, four Members of today's majority would treat high school students like college students rather than like children."[52]

The Supreme Court retreated from *Tinker* again in a 1988 case involving the First Amendment rights of high school newspaper editors. The plaintiffs in *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* challenged a principal who had censored two articles from the school newspaper, one about pregnant students and another in which a student blamed her father for her parents' divorce. The Court held that the newspaper was school-sponsored speech, not individual student expression, and therefore the *Tinker* standard did not apply: "Educators are entitled to exercise greater control over [school-sponsored] student expression to assure that participants learn whatever lessons the activity is designed to teach, that readers or listeners are not exposed to material that may be inappropriate for their level of maturity, and that the views of the individual speaker are not erroneously attributed to the school."[53]

The Court addressed the constitutionality of the EAA itself in 1990 in *Board of Education of the Westside Community Schools v. Mergens*. The case arose when Bridget Mergens, a student at Westside High School in Omaha, Nebraska, asked the principal of her school for permission to form an official Christian Bible club. The principal and the school district rejected her request in part on the grounds that the proposed club would violate the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The Supreme Court agreed to hear the case in order to decide whether the school district had violated the Equal Access Act and the constitutionality of the act itself.[54]

The students and their lawyers framed their arguments largely in terms of free speech.[55] Quoting extensively from *Tinker*, they argued that the school district had violated the religious students' constitutional rights to free expres-

sion and association. What's more, they asserted, high school students were mature enough to tell the difference between state-sponsored religious speech and student-led religious activity, so Establishment Clause concerns were misplaced. Indeed, at trial the plaintiffs had called a child psychologist who testified that students of eleven or twelve were capable of making these distinctions.[56] "The students at WHS [Westside High School]," the respondents asserted, "are quite capable of distinguishing between student expression and school endorsement."[57]

The school district, on the other hand, argued that Westside High School did not have any other noncurricular clubs as defined by the EAA and therefore did not have to permit the Christian Bible club. Moreover, the petitioners declared, the school officials had good pedagogical reasons for disallowing religious, political, or controversial student clubs: "When it comes to assuring a pedagogically sound environment, parents understandably do not have the same confidence in the desires of their children's peers, and particularly those fronting for adults committed to a program of indoctrination, as they do in school officials." Notably, in its brief to the Court the school district tried to avoid further wrangling over the question of high school students' impressionability, arguing instead that "recognition of this particular Christian Bible Club would construct a relationship between church and state which is improper without regard to the age of the students and their impressionability."[58]

In an 8–1 decision, the Court ruled on behalf of the students. All the justices save one agreed that the school district had violated the EAA by denying the proposed Bible study group official recognition. Writing for the majority, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor steered clear of the respondents' free speech arguments, focusing mostly on the EAA's definition of "noncurriculum-related student group."[59] Eight justices also agreed that the EAA did not violate the Establishment Clause, but they fractured over the rationale. Justice O'Connor, who wrote for the plurality on the Establishment Clause issue, echoed respondents' arguments that high school students were mature enough to distinguish between school-sponsored speech and student speech that was permitted by the school. Concurring in the judgment, Justices Thurgood Marshall and William Brennan expressed more concern about applying *Widmar* to the high school context, noting that while high school and college students might have similar capacities, the schools themselves defined their missions very differently: "To the extent that a school emphasizes the autonomy of its students, as does the University of Missouri, there is a corresponding decrease in the likelihood that student speech will be regarded as school speech. Conversely, where a school such as Westside regards its student clubs as a mechanism for defining and transmitting fundamental values, the inclusion of a religious club in the school's program will almost certainly signal school endorsement of the religious practices."[60] In his dissent, Justice Stevens argued for a much narrower construction of the EAA.[61] He maintained that a school should only have to permit religious or political clubs if it had already admitted one such ideologically oriented group. High

school administrators should be able to allow French and chess clubs while still excluding "political clubs, the Ku Klux Klan, and perhaps gay rights advocacy groups."[62]

It is important to note that although the *Mergens* Court was not particularly interested in reinforcing students' free speech rights generally, the case was enormously significant for subsequent battles over the scope of the Establishment Clause. In asserting that high school students were sufficiently mature to grasp that their fellow classmates' religious expression was not necessarily attributable to the school itself, O'Connor indicated that student religious speech inside public schools should presumptively be considered private speech, not government speech. This framing, together with other contemporaneous decisions embracing the idea of prayer as speech, have underpinned the Court's steady expansion of protections for religious speech in schools.[63]

In recent years, the Supreme Court has narrowed constitutional protection for student speech even further. In the 2007 case *Morse v. Frederick*, the Court determined that a school district could suspend a high school student who had held up a banner reading "BONG HiTS 4 JESUS" at a school viewing of the Olympic Torch Relay.[64] After the *Morse* decision, some commentators suggested that the Court had abandoned the free speech values it had set out in *Tinker*.[65] In February 2016 the Supreme Court declined to hear a much-anticipated appeal of a Fifth Circuit decision upholding the suspension of a high school student who had posted a rap recording on Facebook that included threatening language against school coaches.[66]

Against this backdrop, the Equal Access Act is now a keystone of student speech rights. By incorporating the Warren Court's expansive vision of high school students' First Amendment rights, the conservative Christian drafters of the Equal Access Act—however unwittingly—established meaningful legal protections for contemporary LGBTQ+ students in public high schools.[67] The statute stands as a monument to both the liberal constitutional values of the late 1960s and the political force of the 1980s Christian Right.

NOTES

1. Brian Wilson, "School's Club Gets National Attention," *Tennessean*, February 8, 2016; Wilson, "Gay-Straight Alliance Talk Dominates School Board Meet," *Tennessean*, February 9, 2016; Lamm Ho, Kasey Marshall, and Fleming Smith, "Gay Straight Alliance Rally Held at Franklin County High School," *Sewanee Purple* (University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.), February 27, 2016.
2. Gary Wright II, "Franklin County TN Board of Education—FCHS GSA," video, 24:40, February 8, 2016, youtube.com/watch?v=sS4AgtmFdpI.
3. Equal Access Act of 1984, 20 U.S.C. § 4071.
4. The first GSA was founded in 1989, and since then more than eight thousand such groups have registered themselves with GLSEN, a national advocacy organization. Joanna Cifredo, GLSEN media relations manager, email to author, November 2, 2017.

In 2015 a GLSEN survey of LGBTQ+ middle and high school students found that 54 percent of respondents reported that their school had a GSA or similar club. GLSEN, *The 2015 National School Climate Survey* (2016), 54, glsen.org/sites/default/files/2015%20National%20GLSEN%202015%20National%20School%20Climate%20Survey%20%28NSCS%29%20-%20Full%20Report_0.pdf. Melinda Miceli has described the EAA as "the single most important tool available to students who wish to start GSA clubs" (*Standing Out, Standing Together: The Social and Political Impact of Gay-Straight Alliances* [New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005], 39).

5. Miceli, *Standing Out*, 39; Todd A. DeMitchell and Richard Fossey, "Student Speech: School Boards, Gay/Straight Alliances, and the Equal Access Act," *BYU Education and Law Journal*, no. 1 (2008): 89–124.
6. A number of commentators have detailed how the Equal Access Act emerged from the school prayer movement. Joan DelFattore has written a particularly thorough account: *The Fourth R: Conflicts over Religion in America's Public Schools* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), 178–228. See also Allen D. Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988); Steven P. Brown, *Trumping Religion: The New Christian Right, the Free Speech Clause, and the Courts* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002); Gregg Ivers, *Lowering the Wall: Religion and the Supreme Court in the 1980s* (New York: Anti-Defamation League Press, 1991), 161–98; Robert C. Boisevert Jr., "Of Equal Access and Trojan Horses," *Law and Inequality* 3 (1985): 375–79; Ruti Teitel, "The Unconstitutionality of Equal Access Policies and Legislation Allowing Organized Student-Initiated Religious Activities in the Public High Schools," *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly* 12 (Summer 1985): 537–49, 556–59; Aaron H. Caplan, "Stretching the Equal Access Act Beyond Equal Access," *Seattle University Law Review* 27 (2003): 281–86.
7. I have argued elsewhere that postwar debates about the minimum voting age, which culminated in a 1971 constitutional amendment that lowered the national voting age from twenty-one to eighteen, were dominated by electoral concerns. Politicians of both parties considered the issue of eighteen-year-old voting largely in partisan terms. Jenny Diamond Cheng, "Voting Rights for Millennials: Breathing New Life into the Twenty-Sixth Amendment," *Syracuse Law Review* 67 (2017): 673.
8. Steven Brown examines how conservative Christian lawyers in the 1980s and 1990s sought to reframe religious expression as free speech (*Trumping Religion*, 10, 58–60, 62–85). Daniel Bennett argues that contemporary Christian legal advocates are strategically using the language of individual rights, particularly the right to express one's religious conscience (*Defending Faith: The Politics of the Christian Conservative Legal Movement* [Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017]).
9. Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962); Abington School District v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203 (1963).
10. Brown describes how the Court's decisions in *Engel* and *Schempp* contributed to the rise of conservative Christian public interest law organizations (*Trumping Religion*, 20–23). For discussion of these proposed amendments, see DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 106–43.
11. DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 106–55, 189–98.
12. In 1980 76 percent of respondents to a Gallup poll said that they favored a constitutional amendment that would permit voluntary prayer in public schools. George Gallup, "People Favor Prayers in Public Schools," *Washington Post*, May 16, 1980. Only 55 percent of people surveyed later that same year supported legislation that would

require school prayer, however. Linda Lyons, "The Gallup Brain: Prayer in Public Schools," *Gallup News*, December 10, 2002, news.gallup.com/poll/7393/gallup-brain-prayer-public-schools.aspx.

13. Lou Cannon, "Reagan Disagree [*sic*] with Fundamentalist Teaching on Prayer," *Washington Post,* October 4, 1980.
14. DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 194. A 1982 Senate Judiciary Committee hearing on the Reagan amendment illustrates how religious leaders lined up on both sides of this issue. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *S.J. Res. 199: A Senate Joint Resolution Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess. (July 29, August 18, and September 16, 1982), 67–69, 159–64, 264–79, 298–339. For a detailed discussion of the disagreements between various Christian groups over school prayer, see Hertzke, *Representing God*, 179–82.
15. DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 143.
16. See, generally, Brown, *Trumping Religion*.
17. Widmar v. Vincent, 454 U.S. 263 (1981).
18. The university maintained that the establishment clauses of both the U.S. and Missouri Constitutions required such a policy. The Court disagreed. *Id.* at 277.
19. *Id.* at 274.
20. *Id.* at 276n14.
21. In a 1982 case, for example, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit cited the "impressionability of secondary and primary school children" in holding that a Texas high school's policy of permitting religious meetings violated the Establishment Clause. Lubbock Civil Liberties Union v. Lubbock Independent School District, 669 F.2d 1038 (5th Cir. 1982), 1045. In a case involving a Christian club at a Pennsylvania high school, the Third Circuit similarly distinguished *Widmar*, pointing out that "high school students stand in a very different position than university students in terms of maturity and impressionability" (Bender v. Williamsport Area School District, 741 F.2d 538 [3rd Cir. 1984], 552).
22. DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 205–7; Hertzke, *Representing God*, 168–70.
23. DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 207–8; Hertzke, *Representing God*, 170–71.
24. Education for Economic Security Act, S. 1285, 98th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 130, pt. 14 (June 27, 1984): 19219.
25. Representative Don Edwards (D-Calif.), entered this July 25, 1984, editorial into the *Congressional Record*. Emergency Mathematics and Science Education and Jobs Act, H.R. 1310, 98th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 130, pt. 15 (July 25, 1984): 20938.
26. Education for Economic Security Act, S. 1285, 19224.
27. After the Senate sent the Hatfield-Denton Bill, S. 1285, to the House, Speaker Tip O'Neill—who opposed the EAA—referred it to the House Judiciary Committee, where it was likely to die. Furious, Representative Carl Perkins (D-Ky.) deployed an esoteric parliamentary maneuver to bring his own, largely identical bill to the House floor. That bill, H.R. 1310, ultimately became Public Law 98-377. DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 215–16; "H.R. 1310," Congress, congress.gov/bill/98th-congress/house-bill/1310.
28. Hertzke, *Representing God*, 169, 175–85, 193–94. Jewish organizations, however, firmly opposed the EAA (ibid., 185–87). See also DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 209.
29. Hertzke, *Representing God*, 169.
30. Ibid., 194; DelFattore, *The Fourth R*, 214–15; Teitel, "Unconstitutionality," 547; Ivers, *Lowering the Wall*, 7–8.
31. Robert Boisevert notes that President Reagan had threatened to veto the law about

math and science education if it did not include the equal access provision ("Of Equal Access," 378).

32. Statement of Senator Jeremiah Denton, in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Equal Access: A First Amendment Question*, 98th Cong., 1st sess. (1983), 29.
33. Gael Graham, *Young Activists: American High School Students in the Age of Protest* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006), 82–108.
34. Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District, 393 U.S. 503 (1969).
35. *Id.* at 506, 511, 510–11.
36. Statement of Forest D. Montgomery, in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Equal Access*, 172. A representative of the conservative Rutherford Institute similarly cited *Tinker*, and the executive director of the Christian Legal Society noted that in *Tinker* "the court clearly established not only the constitutional validity but the social utility of student expression" (statements of John Whitehead and Robert Buzzard, in ibid., 214, 110).
37. H.R. 5345, 98th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 130, pt. 9 (May 14, 1984): 12066.
38. Education for Economic Security Act, S. 1285, 19217. Mary Beth Tinker's father was actually a Methodist minister, and the family was very involved in Christian social justice efforts. Interview with Mary Beth Tinker, "TinkerTourUSA: FAQ," tinkertourusa.org/about/frequently-asked-questions.
39. *Tinker*, 393 U.S. at 514. The Court further elaborated that schools can ban student speech that "might reasonably [lead] school authorities to forecast substantial disruption of or material interference with school activities." Although the Court has been less and less inclined to hold student speech worthy of First Amendment protection, as I explain below, this *Tinker* test remains good law and is the standard that courts apply today in evaluating student speech cases.
40. Equal Access Act, § 4071(c)(4).
41. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Hearings on S. 815 and S. 1059: Bills Addressing the Statutory Protection of the Right of Students to Meet Voluntarily on Public School Grounds during Extracurricular Periods for Religious Purposes*, 98th Cong., 1st sess. (April 28 and August 3, 1983), 37–51, 56–57, 60–84.
42. Testimony of Sarah Scanlon, in ibid., 63.
43. Testimony of Bonnie Bailey, in ibid., 60.
44. Eileen Luhr details how the public school religious clubs of the 1980s emerged from a vibrant Christian youth subculture that had developed over the previous two decades: *Witnessing Suburbia: Conservatives and Christian Youth Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 101–10. Luhr describes a symbiotic relationship between religious youth and adult conservative activists: "Evangelical youths demonstrated agency in the cultural battles of the late twentieth century, but conservative adults helped orchestrate many of these confrontations by advising Bible study groups or offering legal advice to support Christian school activities. . . . While the resulting confrontations and organizations may seem inorganic, it would be wrong to dismiss youths' motivations or the sense of agency they felt in witnessing" (ibid., 101).
45. Testimony of Sarah Scanlon, in Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Hearings on S. 815 and S. 1059*, 64.
46. Testimony of Bill Kidd, in ibid., 69.
47. Education for Economic Security Act, S. 1285, 19227.
48. In its brief to the Supreme Court, the Des Moines school district criticized the

plaintiffs' parents as "professional protestors and demonstrators motivated in this instance by the Students for [a] Democratic Society, the International League for Peace and Freedom, and Reverend Tinker is the Secretary for Peace and Education in some way affiliated with the Friend's [*sic*] Church. They and other outsiders similarly minded saw an opportunity to infiltrate the Des Moines schools with their propaganda" (Brief for Respondents, Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District, June 24, 1968, 1968 WL 94384, 33).

49. Luhr, *Witnessing Suburbia*, 103.
50. Bethel School District No. 403 v. Fraser, 478 U.S. 675 (1986). In a speech nominating a classmate for student government, Matthew Fraser had described the candidate as "firm in his pants, a man who takes his point and pounds it in. If necessary, he'll take an issue and nail [it] to the wall. He doesn't attack things in spurts—he drives hard, pushing and pushing until finally—he succeeds" (Justice Brennan, concurring in the judgment, *Fraser*, 478 U.S. at 687).
51. *Id.* at 684, 680, 683.
52. Justice Stevens, dissenting, *id.* at 692n2. Justice Stevens was citing the dissenters in Bender v. Williamsport Area School District, 475 U.S. 534 (1986).
53. Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier, 484 U.S. 260, 271 (1988).
54. Board of Education of the Westside Community Schools v. Mergens, 496 U.S. 226, 231–34 (1990).
55. Brief for Respondents, Board of Education of the Westside Community Schools v. Mergens, October 24, 1989, 1989 WL 1127388.
56. Ibid., 44. See also the child psychologist's own brief to the Court. Brief of Dr. David Moshman as Amicus Curiae in Support of Respondents, *Mergens*, October 23, 1989, 1989 WL 1127380, 10–12.
57. Brief for Respondents, 45.
58. Brief of Petitioners, *Mergens*, September 1, 1989, 1989 WL 1127358, 53, 88.
59. Justice O'Connor explained, "Because we rest our conclusion on statutory grounds, we need not decide—and therefore express no opinion on—whether the First Amendment requires the same result" (*Mergens* at 247).
60. Justice Marshall, concurring in the judgment, *id.* at 267.
61. Justice Stevens, dissenting, *id.* at 270.
62. Justice Stevens, dissenting, *id.* at 290.
63. Steven K. Green, "All Things Not Being Equal: Reconciling Student Religious Expression in the Public Schools," *University of California Davis Law Review* 42, no. 3 (2009): 843–87. Green argues that in recent years the Supreme Court has restricted protections for student speech generally but expanded protection for religious speech, leading to confusion in the lower courts. Steven Brown explains in detail how *Mergens* was one of a series of cases in which Christian Right attorneys successfully argued to the Court that free speech protections for religious speech should take precedence over Establishment Clause concerns (*Trumping Religion*, 46–85).
64. Morse v. Frederick, 551 U.S. 393 (2007).
65. Clay Calvert, for example, described *Tinker* as "in the midst of a very serious, very real jurisprudential crisis . . . waning in importance in the annals of First Amendment law" ("Tinker's Midlife Crisis: Tattered and Transgressed but Still Standing," *American University Law Review* 58 [June 2009]: 1168).
66. Bell v. Itawamba County School Board, 136 S.Ct. 1166 (2016), denying certiorari in Bell v. Itawamba County School Board, 799 F.2d 379 (2015).
67. In December 2016 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit held that the

Equal Access Act also applies to middle schools that offer classes for high school credit. Carver Middle School Gay-Straight Alliance, 842 F.3d 1324 (2016). However, state and local officials reluctant to sanction GSAs continue to look for ways to circumvent the EAA. In Franklin County, Tennessee, the school board ultimately decided to establish new rules requiring students to submit signed and dated permission slips from parents before joining a school club or organization. Brian Wilson, "Franklin Requires Parent's OK for Clubs," *Daily News Journal* (Tennessee), April 13, 2016. While the courts have yet to weigh in on the legality of these requirements, a few commentators have argued that they violate students' constitutional rights. See, for example, Ian Vandewalker, "Of Permission Slips and Homophobia: Parental Consent Policies for School Club Participation Aimed at Gay-Positive Student Groups," *Boston University Public Interest Law Journal* 19 (Fall 2009): 23–62; and Keola R. Whittaker, "Gay-Straight Alliances and Free Speech: Are Parental Consent Laws Constitutional?," *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice* 24 (Spring 2009): 48–67.

Milk Carton Kids

ENDANGERED CHILDHOOD AND THE CARCERAL STATE

PAUL M. RENFRO

In an effort to help find missing kids, American dairies began in 1984 to print children's photographs and physical descriptions on milk cartons. The practice caught on quickly; at one point, over seven hundred of the country's estimated eighteen hundred dairies participated. But just as swiftly as it had taken hold, the project fizzled. Parents, pediatricians, and psychiatrists worried about the trauma the milk cartons might inflict on children as they ate their breakfast cereal, stared at their peers, and wondered if they might be victimized next. Worse still, the milk carton drive proved largely ineffective, helping to track down only a few children despite the circulation of some three to five billion such cartons.[1]

Even though the campaign came to a halt about thirty years ago, the missing child on the milk carton lives on. This chapter considers the enduring visual and symbolic appeal of the milk carton kid, unveiling how the image and its descendants have functioned as "cultural shorthand" for particular dangers facing American children.[2] The trope of endangered white childhood, manifest on milk cartons and elsewhere, has authored new punitive tools intended to monitor young Americans and discipline those who might harm them. The child on the milk carton and similar figurations of endangered youngsters have helped assemble the carceral state.

The milk carton program arose just as national attention coalesced around concerns of child kidnapping and child safety. A spate of high-profile missing child cases in the late 1970s and early 1980s stoked public interest in "stranger danger." Elected officials, bereaved parents, and activists petitioned the government for assistance in stymying what some called "a national epidemic" of child abduction and exploitation. Certain advocates erroneously asserted that as many as fifty thousand youths fell victim to stranger kidnappings in any given year. The actual figure is somewhere between one hundred and three hundred.[3] These exaggerated statistics and the sensationalist rhetoric deployed behind them fed fears of a child safety crisis. The milk carton campaign also be-

longed within a broader backlash against the youth liberation and students' rights movements and against a "due process revolution" in juvenile justice. To shore up "family values" and to reassert parental, institutional, and social control over young people, policy makers began to "focus on the family" in the mid- to late 1970s. Through moral crusades targeting pornography, the legal drinking age, drugs, explicit media content, and stranger danger, social conservatives and neoliberals alike—from Ronald Reagan to Tipper Gore, from Pat Buchanan to Bill Clinton—sought to insulate children from perils that, they believed, signaled national decline.[4]

The milk carton kid performed vital symbolic work in this context. By supplying an affective and easily identifiable emblem of endangered white childhood, this iconography enabled the creation of a new legal and cultural apparatus predicated, in large measure, on protecting kids from predation by strangers. Emerging from the perceived crises of the family in the 1970s and 1980s, this apparatus deployed the "innocence" of white children (often coded as *sexual* innocence) and its attendant imagery to justify the increased surveillance of young Americans and those presumed to threaten them.[5] Such imagery conveyed the idea that American children—especially those carrying the markers of the nation's most privileged citizens—confronted new or more intense threats posed by a depraved late twentieth-century culture. The names and faces of missing or slain children such as Etan Patz, Adam Walsh, Johnny Gosch, Jacob Wetterling, Polly Klaas, Megan Kanka, and Amber Hagerman were affixed to product packaging, new laws, and practices enlisting the public in the project of finding missing kids. The resulting apparatus has made sex criminals of hundreds of thousands of people (including many children and adolescents), limited the mobility of young people in both the physical and the online realms, inundated Americans with AMBER Alerts and other sensationalized reminders of child endangerment, and rendered commonsensical overly invasive parenting protocols.[6]

This chapter begins by excavating the origins of the milk carton campaign before exploring its denouement, its enshrinement in the cultural lexicon, and its role in constructing the contemporary carceral state, particularly the vast American system of sex offender regulation and registration.

Johnny Gosch vanished on Labor Day Sunday, 1982. Accompanied by his dachshund, Gretchen, and a red wagon full of newspapers, he left home in the predawn darkness to deliver copies of the *Des Moines Register* to his West Des Moines neighbors. But Johnny never came home, in spite of a sustained investigation by local and state law enforcement officials; a series of searches by area volunteers; and an array of safety and awareness programs fashioned by his parents, John and Noreen Gosch, and other Iowans.

Feeling besieged following Johnny's presumed abduction, West Des Moiners set out to ensure the safety of their community and its children. Mothers remained watchful as their kids walked to and from school. The craft of newspaper delivery became a highly regulated affair as area adults tightened security

along boys' and girls' paper routes. Local police established checkpoints near the site of Johnny's disappearance, hoping to identify suspicious activity and gather potential leads from motorists. Parents escorted their children as they delivered papers, while the *Des Moines Register* sought to alleviate tensions by closely monitoring its two thousand young carriers.[7]

By contrast, Johnny's parents and others adopted an alarmist tone in their readings of his disappearance, and they accordingly sought to heighten awareness (and anxiety) statewide on matters of child safety. To this end, the Gosches founded Help Find Johnny Gosch Inc. within two months of their son's disappearance. With the assistance of volunteers, the organization mailed informational newsletters to homes throughout Iowa, asking concerned parties to support the group's search and consciousness-raising efforts through financial and other means. Under the aegis of Help Find Johnny Gosch Inc., Noreen and John Gosch developed an awareness program called In Defense of Children, which they presented across Iowa and the Midwest. Noreen Gosch, for her part, helped compose and promote Senate File 517 (colloquially known as the Johnny Gosch Bill), which the Iowa legislature passed and implemented in 1984. The law prohibited police or other authorities from observing a waiting period in response to a report of a missing child.[8]

By employing the name and face of an imperiled child to mandate increased police intervention in matters of child protection, the Johnny Gosch Bill presaged more expansive legal measures. For one, the federal National Child Search Assistance Act of 1990 imitated the Johnny Gosch Bill by requiring authorities to immediately enter information related to a missing child into the National Crime Information Center database, maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the mold of the Johnny Gosch Bill, subsequent "memorial laws" instrumentalizing the names and faces of missing, slain, or otherwise exploited children helped build the nation's daunting machinery of sex offender registration and notification. For instance, the 1994 Jacob Wetterling Crimes against Children and Violent Sex Offender Registration Act—named for an eleven-year-old St. Joseph, Minnesota, boy abducted, molested, and killed in 1989—"formed the basis of federal sex offender laws."[9]

Taking their cues from the Gosches, ordinary Iowans embarked upon their own projects to bring Johnny home and to prevent other children from suffering his fate. Jeanne Wunn, a family friend of John and Noreen, walked across the state to raise investigative funds on the Gosches' behalf. Iowans also fingerprinted their children in response to Johnny's presumed kidnapping, even in tiny towns like Conrad, Iowa (1980 population, 1,133), where two hundred children had their prints taken. Local TV coverage of the Conrad fingerprinting initiative cited the supposedly "rising number" of child abductions that had spurred parents to record their children's prints. (There is no evidence to suggest that the number of child kidnappings in Iowa or nationwide was increasing in the early to mid-1980s.) On account of the Gosch disappearance and the growing national dialogue about "missing children," the television news report

posited, Conrad residents had taken to heart the idea that child kidnappings "can happen anywhere." In a similar vein, the Des Moines police department, city council, and area public and private schools collaborated on a child fingerprinting program called Kids Identification and Description System (KIDS), which reached approximately twenty-one thousand local students enrolled in kindergarten through sixth grade.[10]

After another *Des Moines Register* paperboy, thirteen-year-old Eugene Wade Martin, went missing in August 1984, local fears intensified, new child safety tools materialized, and existing instruments grew in scope. That Martin's disappearance seemed like "a photocopy" of the Gosch case, in the words of one journalist, implied a consolidated assault on Iowa's young (white) paperboys and the way of life they ostensibly personified. The *Register* published bulletins asking readers if they had seen Martin or Gosch and announcing a cash reward that would eventually surpass $115,000. Truckers plastered the missing boys' faces on the sides of their eighteen-wheelers. Three months after Martin's disappearance, Iowa governor Terry Branstad arranged a conference called "Children in Jeopardy," which, according to the *Register*, looked to reinforce the notion that "Iowa is a safe place for children." The Iowa State Patrol, one month after Martin's disappearance, inaugurated a child safety program named Stranger Danger, which addressed "concern arising from the apparent abductions of Des Moines news carriers Eugene Martin and Johnny Gosch."[11]

In a scathing editorial published days after Martin went missing, *Register* editor in chief James P. Gannon called on Des Moiners to take measures to protect children. He located such proposed steps within a "law and order" populism tinctured with racialized notions of midwestern innocence. "Here," he wrote, "in the normally safe-and-sane heartland of middle America, where clean living, neighborliness and a sense of security are supposed to prevail, a sinister shadow darkens our doorways and our lives. It took Johnny Gosch. Now it's taken Gene Martin." To banish this "sinister shadow," Gannon urged readers to "join their neighbors in the Neighborhood Watch program"; to "volunteer for the Blue Star program, which offers children a safe home to turn to if they feel threatened while walking to or from school"; and to sign up for "HOPE (Homes Offering [a] Protective Environment), which does the same for newspaper carriers."[12]

President Ronald Reagan got involved as well. He phoned Gannon after learning of Martin's alleged kidnapping. "I want to offer my regrets and sympathies," the president told Gannon before inquiring if the White House could assist in the effort to recover the paperboys. "It was an offer too good to refuse," the *Register*'s editor in chief explained. Gannon informed Reagan that his paper sought to generate "maximum public exposure [for] the reward posters that show pictures of the faces of the boys and give descriptions of them." Heretofore, the *Register* had disseminated approximately seventy-five thousand of these handbills around Iowa, and Gannon asked the president if he could help garner "nationwide attention" for the cause. "If you could help us get those posters up in every post office in the country," Gannon exhorted, "we would greatly appreciate

it." Reagan apparently assented in a "quick and certain" manner, assuring Gannon that he would "get right on it." The president also lent rhetorical support in the wake of the paperboy kidnappings and applauded Iowans' diligence in developing vigilante surveillance programs. "Nancy and I join all of you, I'm sure," he proclaimed at a 1984 campaign rally in Cedar Rapids, "in praying for the safe return of Johnny and Eugene. And I pledge to you that none of us will rest until the streets in Iowa and throughout this nation are once again safe, particularly for our children." The president noted that Iowans had "established a crime prevention Citizen's [*sic*] Watch program in every one of your ninety-nine counties," which he celebrated as "an accomplishment that few States can match."[13]

Beyond the Iowa paperboy cases, President Reagan appealed for greater private sector involvement and public-private collaboration in ameliorating social problems, including those related to child endangerment. With the June 1984 launch of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, Reagan also announced the creation of a "public-private partnership" that would "take advantage of every opportunity available . . . to protect our children and keep them safe." In April 1985 he issued Executive Order No. 12511, which formalized the President's Child Safety Partnership in order to "encourage the development of public/private sector initiatives to prevent and respond to the victimization of children." Reagan also presided over the establishment in December 1984 of the President's Citation Program for Private Sector Initiatives.[14]

With the approval of the White House, private for-profits and nonprofits—from blue chip companies like K-Mart and Mobil to startups that were "less than honorable in their intentions"—waged what one government publication termed a "battle for child safety." Some consumer products preyed on and whipped up public anxieties about child abduction. One 1985 *CBS Evening News* story diagnosed "an epidemic of parental fear fueled by highly publicized long-term kidnapping cases"—like those of Etan Patz and Johnny Gosch—before analyzing a television spot for Kiddie Alert, an "electronic monitoring system" worn by children to thwart would-be abductors. Marketed as "A Breakthrough in child safety," Kiddie Alert promised to "keep your child out of the headlines," gesturing to the high-profile cases of missing youngsters that had provoked such a robust private sector response. "An army of child-saving charlatans," in the words of one observer, embezzled funds from donors or hawked mostly worthless products such as leashes for kids and the Child Protection Safety Kits (replete with home fingerprinting tools) produced by Reverend Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. These "less than honorable" actors joined well-intentioned ones in the private sector enterprise of child safety. However dubious, misguided, or ineffectual, these efforts comported with the Reagan era projects of sanctifying consumerism, venerating "family values," and championing "market-based solutions to social problems."[15]

Out of this terrain grew the milk carton campaign. Within weeks of Martin's disappearance, the Anderson-Erickson (AE) dairy in Des Moines had begun placing pictures of Gosch and Martin on its products. Following AE's lead,

Photographs of Johnny Gosch and Eugene Martin appear on the side of a milk carton. Richard R. Kerr, "Processors Unite to Help Children," *Dairy Field,* April 1985, 46–53. Image reprinted with permission from *Dairy Field,* © 2018, www.bnpmedia.com.

Prairie Farms dairy, also headquartered in Des Moines, started printing the paperboys' photographs on its milk cartons. These undertakings by AE and Prairie Farms initially generated little publicity in Iowa or elsewhere, but they set the foundation for subsequent milk carton drives overseen by larger dairies, underwritten by national child safety organizations, and covered widely by news organizations.[16]

Nationwide attention first converged on the milk carton campaign in late 1984. By then, the Hawthorn Mellody dairy (HM), located in Whitewater, Wisconsin, and Libertyville, Illinois, had co-opted the practice pioneered by AE and Prairie Farms. The press took notice, no doubt because HM was a sizable milk processor with a decent hold on the Chicago market, distributing some two million milk cartons throughout the city each month. HM also supplied dairy products to other parts of Illinois, as well as parts of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Indiana. After coming across a milk carton adorned with pictures of Gosch and Martin, HM vice president and general manager Walter Woodbury determined that HM, too, should print missing children's images on its products. He approached the Chicago police department with a proposal to implement a milk carton program in the Chicago metropolitan area. By January 1985 HM had launched the initiative in Chicagoland and attracted widespread attention in the American news media.[17]

Dairies across the country followed suit in early 1985, and the milk carton campaign scored a major victory by helping to reunite a missing California teenager with her family. After running away from her Lancaster, California, home in November 1984, thirteen-year-old Doria Paige Yarbrough was staying with some friends about two hundred miles away in Fresno. While watching the television news with her friends, Yarbrough learned that she would be featured on the side panels of milk cartons produced by Alta Dena, a southern California dairy. With her friends encouraging her to return home, Yarbrough phoned her parents and was reunited with them the next day. Not only did Yarbrough's feel-good story likely introduce many Americans to the tactic of placing missing kids' photographs on milk cartons, but it also evinced the campaign's supposed efficacy.[18]

Just a few days after young Doria had come home, the National Child Safety Council (NCSC) announced it would standardize the milk carton initiative. The organization would send matching sets of missing child pictures to participating dairies. NCSC would supply these distributors with twelve side-panel templates, each spotlighting two lost children for a total of twenty-four kids. Every month or so, NCSC would draft new templates featuring different missing children and circulate them to participating dairies. At the time of NCSC's announcement on January 28, 1985, over one hundred dairies had agreed to participate in the program. The U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) expressed its support for the NCSC initiative. "From our point of view," the head of the DOJ's Missing Children Program indicated in a statement, "one of the benefits of using milk cartons is their short shelf life," which "enables the changing of photos as the children are found and the rotation of the pictures and identity information used."[19]

The mid-1980s marked the pinnacle of the child safety panic, a moment in which the news media legitimated seemingly any mechanism, like the milk carton drive, that might help recover lost or abducted youths. "Now that the cause of missing children is a national campaign," the *CBS Evening News* reported in February 1985, "finding children . . . is no longer being left to chance." In CBS's New York City studios, Dan Rather credited plans like the milk carton initiative with boosting the number of tips submitted in the hopes of bringing children back home. "More than luck," Rather affirmed, "is involved in the estimated 50 percent increase in reported sightings of missing children around the nation over the past three weeks." That uptick tracked neatly with the nationwide rollout of the milk carton campaign orchestrated by the NCSC. By March 1985 over seven hundred of the nation's eighteen hundred dairies had signed on to participate in the program.[20]

For all its purported successes, the milk carton program as coordinated by the NCSC only spotlighted children believed to have been "criminally abducted," a term that connoted stranger kidnappings. The initiative thereby obscured two key facts: (1) runaways represented (and still represent) the most common "type" of missing child; and (2) parental and acquaintance kidnappings consti-

tute the overwhelming majority of child abduction cases. Further, some of the cartons distributed in schools bore messages like "Never go with strangers" and "Report to your parents or a trusted adult at once: Any stranger who tries to lure you away with gifts like money, toys or pets."[21] Thus, the milk carton drive—in its selection of missing children and in the messages imprinted on the cartons themselves—reified the stranger danger threat and distorted the nature of perils facing young people.

The milk carton campaign also emerged just as journalists, academics, and other actors began to challenge the outlandish claims made by child safety advocates. In 1985 and 1986, especially, came a host of news stories and investigative accounts questioning the statistics bandied about during the missing child scare. The *Denver Post* won a Pulitzer Prize in public service for an investigative series titled "The Truth about Missing Kids," which revealed how exaggerated statistics had inflamed the moral panic over child safety. Others blamed such grossly inflated figures for the rise of milk cartons and other child safety awareness instruments. "I think the market for virtually all those products," an activist from the American Youth Work Center speculated on the *CBS Evening News*, "would collapse tomorrow if the American public understood that out of 62.5 million people under the age of eighteen, less than a hundred are abducted every year by a stranger." One Seattle pediatrician told viewers of *NBC Nightly News* in December 1985 that "strangers don't hurt kids very much," insisting that children "don't really have to be fearful that every stranger they see is going to whisk them off and torture them and kill them."[22]

Still others specified how fingerprinting efforts, the milk carton campaign, and other safety mechanisms could terrify children. Renowned pediatricians T. Berry Brazelton and Benjamin Spock took aim at such tools. Brazelton lamented publicly, "We're putting a lot of responsibility on kids to worry about something adults should be worried about. I don't think it's really appropriate to make them afraid of everybody." Spock referred to fingerprinting as "a well intentioned effort," albeit one that was "much more likely to scare children than to help any child be found." One physician, writing in the official journal of the American Academy of Pediatrics, dismissed the milk carton project—and the broader "business of missing children"—as fearmongering. "It seems unfortunate," he bemoaned, "to constantly confront children with the specter of being hoisted off by a wicked stranger, when, in fact, that danger is about as likely as being struck by lightning."[23]

By 1987 the number of dairies enrolled in the milk carton campaign had dropped considerably, partially due to concerns about frightening kids and partially due to the campaign's ineffectiveness. Two years after NCSC had formalized the practice of placing missing children's faces on milk cartons, some three to five billion of such cartons had been circulated, but only a handful of young people had been recovered as a result. Moreover, none of these children had actually been abducted by strangers; the recovered children had either run away from home or fallen prey to parental or familial kidnapping, in alignment with

the statistical realities of the missing children issue. Other publicity tools actually proved more effective in bringing missing children home. In early 1987 an Associated Press news report applauded public service announcements, grocery store displays, and other instruments for helping return some 109 children over the preceding two and a half years.[24]

Yet as a cultural product, the milk carton initiative has proven more durable than any other child safety mechanism. Publicity efforts like ADVO's Have You Seen Me? project have enjoyed much longer shelf lives than the milk carton program. Launched in 1985 and still in operation, Have You Seen Me? mails leaflets with missing children's faces on them to over one hundred million American homes weekly.[25] Nevertheless, by the time milk processors had stopped placing missing kids' pictures on their milk cartons, the trope had already secured its place in the cultural vernacular. From the late eighties through the second decade of the twenty-first century, the missing kid on the milk carton has supplied, first, a resonant narrative device and pop-culture trope, and, second, a template through which to convey the message of endangered childhood and to police the behavior of children and adults alike.

Almost as soon as it had begun, the milk carton campaign had penetrated pop culture, providing a visually appealing and widely recognizable reference point for multiple audiences. A 1985 episode of the NBC sitcom *Punky Brewster* used the milk carton program to propel its main storyline.[26] The episode illustrated the rapidity and ease with which the milk carton campaign entered the pop-culture lexicon. Its position in the pop-culture canon became increasingly evident with the arrival of the new decade. By the early nineties, the milk carton kid had appeared in a variety of popular texts: the 1987 teen horror film *The Lost Boys*; the 1988 Tom Hanks vehicle *Big*; the popular 1989 family movie *Honey, I Shrunk the Kids*; a 1993 episode of *The Simpsons*; and Caroline Cooney's young-adult novel *The Face on the Milk Carton*, published in 1990.[27]

As the midcentury social revolutions increasingly blurred the lines between the cultural and the political, the milk carton campaign represented a piece of visual culture that spoke directly to political concerns. This twinned role was on display in the runup to the 1988 Iowa Democratic caucuses. At a January debate in Des Moines, Democratic presidential candidate and former Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt invoked the milk carton program to comment on Senator Al Gore's (D-Tenn.) two-month absence from the Hawkeye State. "Al, it's good to see you back [in Iowa]," Babbitt remarked. "You know, I thought they might start putting your picture on milk cartons." While the crowd and Babbitt's fellow presidential hopefuls took the joke in stride, the reference "brought protests from the parents of missing children," one *ABC World News Tonight* story detailed. Noreen Gosch, Johnny's mother, expressed her disgust. "I think it's in bad taste," she chided. "Why should he make fun of it? To us, it's a big deal." Babbitt apologized to Gosch and called his jab "an inappropriate statement."[28] His swift disavowal of a seemingly innocuous joke demonstrated the near unassailability of the child safety cause and its associated imagery.

Babbitt's gaffe and the backlash against it also reified the solemn mission of the milk carton project: to convey the message of endangered childhood. As the trope of the missing child on the milk carton attained cultural capital throughout the late 1980s and into the 1990s, it helped formalize a new kind of legal-cultural instrument that would publicize the stranger danger threat. The visibility and allure of milk carton kids—in pop culture, in private sector promotions, and on breakfast tables across the country—provided a foundation for similarly minded projects vital to the development of the carceral state.

Beyond the strategic placement of missing children's faces on a slew of technologies—on mail circulated by the U.S. Senate, on coupons, on pizza boxes, on energy bills, and on milk cartons—lost, imperiled, photogenic white youngsters became the poster children for draconian laws intended to curb violent crime, punish "perverts," and reassert institutional control over young Americans. These legal mechanisms have expanded the carceral state and exacerbated extant racial inequities in the criminal justice system, as black men are two times more likely to be deemed sex offenders than white men.[29]

In the Clinton era, young, white, photo/telegenic, middle-class child victims presumed to have been taken and exploited by strangers supplied the affective capital necessary to implement laws like the aforementioned Wetterling Act; the federal "three strikes, and you're out" law, also enacted in 1994; and Megan's Law of 1996. These and other laws sought to memorialize child victims, leveraging their names and faces in the service of preserving childhood "innocence" and cracking down on sexual "deviance." In a climate of intense anticrime sentiment, President Bill Clinton signed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (VCCLEA) of 1994. This bill included the Wetterling Act, as well as the federal three-strikes provision, drafted, in part, as a response to the 1993 kidnapping, molestation, and murder of twelve-year-old Polly Klaas in Petaluma, California. The Wetterling Act mandated the nationwide adoption of sex offender registries (SORs), establishing state guidelines for tagging and monitoring those "convicted of a criminal offense against a victim who is a minor" or those "convicted of a sexually violent offense." It was the first prominent "apostrophe law" or "memorial law" named for a missing child since the 1932 passage of the Federal Kidnapping Act, generally known as the Lindbergh Law.[30]

Another component of the VCCLEA, the three-strikes provision, imitated in spirit and practice a 1994 California state statute inspired by the Klaas case. Twelve-year-old Polly Klaas's tragic demise horrified the public. She was kidnapped from her own home during a slumber party, sexually assaulted, and strangled to death. Convicted felon Richard Allen Davis directed officials to Klaas's remains two months after her disappearance. In 1996 he was convicted of the girl's slaying, and a grand jury convened by the California Superior Court sentenced Davis to death. Armed with Klaas's name and image to bolster their cause (some media outlets and politicians called Polly "America's Child"), California legislators passed and the electorate approved via referendum the so-called three-strikes law, which mandated "a minimum sentence of 25 years to

Flanked by vice president Al Gore and Marc Klaas, President Bill Clinton signs the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, September 13, 1994. Photograph by Ralph Alswang. Courtesy of William Jefferson Clinton Presidential Library and Museum, Little Rock, Arkansas.

life for three-time repeat offenders with multiple prior serious or violent felony convictions."[31]

Though California was not the first state to incorporate such a measure, the national resonance of the Klaas case led directly to the passage of a companion three-strikes law at the federal level. On multiple occasions in late 1993 and early 1994, President Clinton met with Polly's father, Marc Klaas, who endorsed the administration's proposed three-strikes bill. Buoyed by Klaas's support, Clinton invoked Polly's name and gruesome death as he pressed for tougher anticrime provisions on the national stage. "But while Americans are more secure from threats abroad," Clinton remarked in his 1994 State of the Union address, citing the close of the Cold War and the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement, "we all know that in many ways we are less secure from threats here at home. Every day the national peace is shattered by crime. In Petaluma, California, an innocent slumber party gives way to agonizing tragedy for the family of Polly Klaas." After marshaling Klaas's murder as evidence of a national scourge, Clinton laid out a plan to end that scourge. "Now those who commit crimes should be punished," he decreed. "And those who commit repeated violent crimes should be told, 'When you commit a third violent crime, you will be put away, and put away for good. . . . [T]hree strikes and you are out.'"[32]

Polly Klaas thereby functioned as the visual centerpiece for Clinton's anticrime agenda, specifically his push for the federal three-strikes law. Like the images of missing children disseminated on literally billions of milk cartons and

other products beginning in the 1980s, photographs of Polly circulated widely in the wake of her disappearance. According to Polly's father, Marc, he and his associates in the Polly Klaas Foundation (established after his daughter's abduction in late 1993) had distributed "approximately two billion images of Polly out worldwide [*sic*]" in the months following the girl's kidnapping. Just as milk carton kids had flooded grocery stores and populated refrigerators nationwide, purportedly signaling a child safety epidemic, the sheer reach of Polly's name, face, and disturbing story helped facilitate the expansion of the carceral state, which has disproportionately criminalized nonwhite individuals in the service of protecting young white citizens.[33]

The bevy of memorial laws that followed likewise used the names (and, by extension, the faces) of white photogenic child-victims. Megan's Law, adopted federally in 1996 as an amendment to the Wetterling Act, mandated "the release of relevant information to protect the public from sexually violent offenders." The federal Megan's Law was based on a New Jersey law hastily passed following the brutal murder of seven-year-old Megan Kanka in Hamilton Township, New Jersey. Unbeknownst to Megan's parents, a convicted sex offender named Jesse Timmendequas had moved in across the street from the Kanka residence. After luring Megan into his home, Timmendequas bludgeoned, raped, and strangled her. Both the New Jersey law and its federal counterpart required "sexually violent" individuals to notify community members of the crimes for which they had been convicted. "To understand what this law really means," President Clinton announced upon signing the bill in 1996, "never forget its name—the name of a seven-year-old girl taken wrongly in the beginning of her life. The law that bears a name of one child is now for every child, for every parent and every family. It is for Polly [Klaas] and Jacob [Wetterling] and Adam [Walsh], and, above all, for Megan." Clinton therefore portrayed photogenic white child victims like Kanka as "everychild."[34]

President George W. Bush also operationalized the names and faces of photogenic white young victims to target particular sex offenders and even *potential* offenders. The Code Adam and AMBER (America's Missing: Broadcast Emergency Response) Alert systems, enshrined in the 2003 PROTECT (Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today) Act, and the 2006 Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act furthered the assumptions embedded in the Wetterling Act, the three-strikes provision, and Megan's Law. The PROTECT Act established federal guidelines for the administration of the national AMBER Alert system and for the usage of Code Adam protocols in federal buildings.[35] Appearing first on the local level in Texas following the 1996 abduction and slaying of nine-year-old Amber Hagerman there, AMBER Alert became a federal program with the passage of the 2003 PROTECT Act. Now coordinated through the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Justice Programs, the federal AMBER Alert system transmits via highway billboards, smartphone notifications, television broadcasts, and social media pictures of and information related to missing and endangered young people.[36]

Although there is no evidence that Adam Walsh was molested, he functioned as the namesake for the 2006 Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act, which passed unanimous voice votes in both houses of Congress and shone an even harsher light on those deemed sex offenders. Building upon the Wetterling Act, the Walsh Act "intensified federal penalties for sex offenders' failure to comply with registration requirements; enabled the federal prosecution of state sex offenders for failure to register pursuant to interjurisdictional or foreign travel; widened the range of offenses for which adults could be forced to register to include possession of child pornography; and standardized the information to be obtained from offenders for publication and dissemination in online sex offender registries."[37]

The trope of endangered white (sexual) innocence structured the 2006 Walsh Act. The law framed victimhood and childhood as inherently white, just as the Wetterling Act and Megan's Law implicitly had, and just as the larger child safety campaign had. The Walsh Act's "declaration of purpose" commemorated seventeen victims, all of whom were white. (This list did not include Adam Walsh, the act's namesake and a white boy.) By emphasizing white victimhood, the Walsh Act tightened the leashes around young Americans' necks, vilified particular offenders, and absolved from blame those unlisted on SORs. Because of the 2006 Walsh Act and its predecessor the Wetterling Act, anyone with an Internet connection can now see the convicted sex offenders who live around them or who live anywhere in the country. This legal regime encourages American adults to steer their children away from certain "unsafe" spaces and to prevent them from interacting with "deviant" individuals. It thereby situates the problem of child kidnapping and sexual assault entirely outside the school, church, or family home and overlooks the power imbalances that enable such abuse.

The stranger danger mythology, motored by the image of imperiled white childhood and perhaps most potently articulated within the milk carton campaign, has endured into the twenty-first century. Since the late twentieth-century child safety scare and the advent of the milk carton kid, we have surrounded ourselves with images of child-victims and yoked those images to particular threats. In so doing, we have often failed to recognize that, even as we lament the tragedies of child exploitation, we simultaneously embrace them. The cycle never seems to end; we raise awareness about a problem of which everyone is already aware while trafficking in truisms and falsehoods and refusing to ask questions with answers.

Late twentieth-century anxieties about familial decline and "law and order" grounded a child protection crusade that masked the threats posed to (white) American youths by family members and close acquaintances. This crusade, in turn, shifted the meanings of child protection, rendered certain young Americans worthy of safety, and gave rise to a formidable collection of tools intended to restrain young people and, in the words of cultural theorist James Kincaid, "patrol . . . the frontiers of innocence." It is no accident that the child deemed

worthy of protection takes the shape of our society's most privileged members, with "bleached, bourgeois, and androgynous" characteristics. Yet portrayals of children as pure, vacant, and sweet actually serve to sexualize them rather than to desexualize them or protect them from harm. Indeed, innocence, once a "theological trope," in our modern era "became a fulcrum for the post-Romantic ambiguous construction of sexuality and sexual behavior." Today the "Gothic," Manichaean drama of child abduction, molestation, and murder continues to feed a moral panic, making it socially unacceptable to discuss such issues in any but one register.[38]

The milk carton kid, then, serves as the literal poster child for a type of innocence that some American adults have set out to reclaim. Within a seductive narrative of national and familial decline, this child embodies the (presumably new) threats that have confronted young Americans in the past thirty or forty years—or whenever it was that childhood innocence began to evaporate. But it is this mythology, not the perilous world that it purports to explain, that has transformed childhood since the late twentieth century. Though our milk cartons no longer bear the photographs of missing boys and girls, their faces haunt our kitchens, our living rooms, our television sets, our smartphones. To actually protect these children, we must let go of the ghosts.

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CONTRIBUTORS

AMY SUE BIX is a professor of history at Iowa State University (ISU) and director of ISU's Consortium for Historical Studies of Technology and Science. Her most recent book, *Girls Coming to Tech! A History of American Engineering Education for Women*, was published by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press and won the Margaret W. Rossiter History of Women in Science Prize from the History of Science Society. Bix's book in progress is "Recruiting Engineer Jane and Astrophysicist Amy: American STEM Advocacy for Girls, 1965–2015," a study of one of the most distinctive modern developments in American science and technology, the growth of powerful individual, institutional, and community commitments to open STEM to young women.

JENNY DIAMOND CHENG is a lecturer in law at Vanderbilt University Law School, where she teaches classes on education and family law. She holds a JD from Harvard Law School and a PhD in political science from the University of Michigan. Her research focuses on the political and legal treatment of children, especially adolescents. She has written extensively about the history of the minimum voting age and the constitutionality of state laws that affect young voters. Her current book manuscript examines the legal age of majority in the United States.

SUSAN ECKELMANN BERGHEL is an assistant professor of history and director of Africana studies at the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga. Her current manuscript, "Freedom's Little Lights: Children and Teenagers in the U.S. and Abroad during the Civil Rights Era," examines the nexus of teenage youth, civil rights, and Cold War politics during the 1950s and 1960s. Eckelmann Berghel's work has appeared in the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* and the *Public Historian* and was funded by the Lyndon B. Johnson Foundation's Moody Research Grant and the North American History Fellowship at the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. She received her PhD in history and American studies from Indiana University, Bloomington.

CARA ELLIOTT received her PhD in history from the College of William and Mary in 2017 and is currently an independent scholar. Her dissertation, "P.S. Don't Tell

My Mother: American Children Debate Race and Civil Rights, 1946–1991," analyzes children's letters to U.S. presidents and other public figures to trace the development of twentieth-century racial discourse. She asserts that the history of race and racism in America cannot be understood without examining children's participation in debates over civil rights. Elliott received support for her dissertation through fellowship awards from the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation, the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library Institute's Committee on Research and Education, the Eisenhower Foundation, and the College of William & Mary. A portion of her research appeared in the Fall 2017 issue of the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth.*

SARA FIELDSTON is an assistant professor of history at Seton Hall University. She is the author of *Raising the World: Child Welfare in the American Century*, which was published by Harvard University Press in 2015. The book, which was a finalist for the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians Book Prize, explores American efforts to assist children around the world during the three decades following World War II. Fieldston's work has appeared in *Diplomatic History* and the *Journal of Tourism History* and has received support from the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) and the Mrs. Giles Whiting Foundation. Her current book project, "Shopping for Empire: American Tourists, Consumption, and Power after World War II," explores American tourism overseas through the lens of shopping and consumption. She received her PhD from Yale University.

JENNIFER HELGREN is an associate professor of history at the University of the Pacific in Stockton, California, where she teaches U.S. and women's history courses. She cochairs the history department and is the director of gender studies. She is the author of *American Girls and Global Responsibility: A New Relation to the World during the Early Cold War* (2017); the coeditor of *Girlhood: A Global History* (2010); and the author of several articles on U.S. girlhood, including "Native American and White Camp Fire Girls Enact Modern Girlhood, 1910–39," *American Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (June 2014): 333–60, and "A 'Very Innocent Time': Oral History Narratives, Nostalgia and Girls' Safety in the 1950s and 1960s," *Oral History Review* 42, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2015): 50–69.

MISCHA HONECK is a visiting associate professor of history at Humboldt University, Berlin. His main research interests are the histories of race, ethnicity, gender, and youth in the United States and the transatlantic world. He is the author of *Our Frontier Is the World: The Boy Scouts in the Age of American Ascendancy*, which was published in 2018 by Cornell University Press, and of *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848* (University of Georgia Press, 2011), which was named a *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title. He is also the coeditor (with James Marten) of *War and Childhood in the Era of the Two World Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

MOLLY JESSUP is a program specialist with the Minnesota Historical Society. She received her PhD from Syracuse University. Her dissertation, "Creating the American Teenager: Experts, Authority, and Youth in the Cold War," examines the implementation of life adjustment education in the field of home economics, considering the reform as a consensus-building project.

ANDREA KWON received her PhD from the University of California, Berkeley, and her BA from Yale University. She is a lecturer at Santa Clara University, where she teaches courses in ethnic studies. Kwon's primary research interests are in Asian American history, immigration, and the United States and the world, with a focus on early U.S.-Korea relations. Her recent projects include a forthcoming chapter in *25 Events That Shaped Asian American History*.

PAUL MCKENZIE-JONES is an assistant professor in Indigenous studies at the University of Lethbridge, Canada. His primary research and teaching foci are contemporary transnational Indigenous activism and the critical intersections of race, culture, settler-colonialism, and indigeneity. He has published articles in journals such as *Transmotion*, *American Indian Quarterly*, and *Great Plains Quarterly*, and his first book, *Clyde Warrior: Tradition, Community, and Red Power*, was published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 2015.

PAUL M. RENFRO is an assistant professor of history at Florida State University. His book *Stranger Danger: Family Values, Childhood, and the American Carceral State* will be published by Oxford University Press in 2020. Before arriving at FSU, he was a postdoctoral fellow in the Center for Presidential History at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. Renfro's scholarship has appeared in *Feminist Studies*, *Enterprise & Society*, *Southern Cultures*, and *American Quarterly*.

KYLE RIISMANDEL is a senior university lecturer and the director of the Law, Technology, and Culture Program in the New Jersey Institute of Technology / Rutgers-Newark Federated Department of History. His book *Under Siege: The Suburban Crisis in American Culture, 1975–2001* is slated for publication in late 2020 with Johns Hopkins University Press. Riismandel received his PhD in American studies from George Washington University.

SARAH SCRIPPS is an assistant professor of history at the University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point, where she specializes in public history, museum studies, history of science and technology, and modern American history. Her current book manuscript, "Science Fairs before Sputnik: Scientific Adolescent Culture in Contemporary America," traces the formation and evolution of science fairs in America, focusing on the ways in which adolescents established communities of practice by engaging in these competitions. Scripps demonstrates how science fairs provide an entry point for understanding how adolescents conceived of science in material, social, and epistemological terms over the course of the twentieth century. She argues that science fairs were central to shaping an adolescent scientific culture in the United States. Scripps serves as director of the Museum of Natural History at UW–Stevens Point.

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